PREACHERS AND GOVERNANCE IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN TOWNS: A COMPARATIVE INVESTIGATION OF THREE CASE STUDIES

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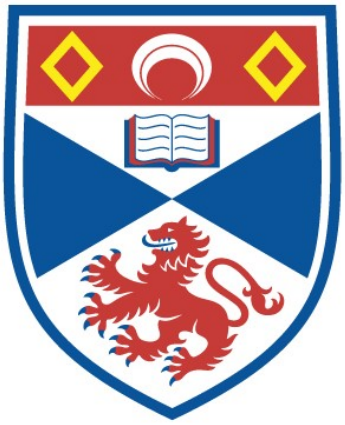

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This thesis examines the sermons of three conventual mendicant preachers in three 15th-century Italian cities: the Easter Sunday sermons of 1416 and 1417 of a

Franciscan, Giovanni Coltellini; a 1446 sermon for the feast-day of St Mark by a Dominican, Leonardo Mattei; and the 1460 Palm Sunday sermon of another Dominican, Tommaso Liuti. These are studied through the contextual framework provided by the use of sacristy records, treatises, chronicles, diaries, council minutes, papal bulls, and other sermons. Through these sources, the thesis explores the theme of mendicant preaching in support of secular governing authority. Whereas most historians have concentrated on the criticisms of observant friars, it is here argued that mendicant preachers were employed as a 'routine' business of government at both critical and non-critical moments in order to promote the governance of a secular authority, its policies, or its ideology. The first three parts form case studies of preaching in socio-politically distinct contexts. The preaching on peace and unity by the Bolognese Coltellini during political upheaval in his native city is examined first, and establishes how the preacher sought to strengthen links between the governing coalition of factions. The second part investigates promotion of Venetian governance by Mattei in occupied Udine within a period characterised by claims of mismanagement. The last case study approaches from the viewpoint of personal motivation. It investigates Liuti's relationship with the Este court in Ferrara and the links between the friar's treatise on good governance, a sermon on a closely-related theme, and his future career. The final section is a comparative analysis of the case studies, assessing similarities and differences in approach, style, and content. It highlights the importance of a preacher's local origin in forming bonds with audience and governing authority, and the crucial role played by the use of classical authorities in communicating with ruling elites. Lastly, the commonality of aims, if not ultimate goals, between preacher and secular authority is underscored. The involvement of holy men in secular affairs was perceived on the whole as uncontradictory, and provides evidence for an intrinsic inseparability between religion and public life in Quattrocento Italy.

List of Abbreviations

ACU	Annales Civitatis Utini
AFH	Archivum Franciscanum Historicum
AFP	Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum
ASB	Bologna, Archivio di Stato
BCA	Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio
BF	Bullarium Franciscanum
CC	Udine, Cameraria di Comune
MOPH	Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historicum
Ricc. 784	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 784
RIS	Rerum Italicarum Scriptores

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INTRODUCTION*

'You want me to be the pope, the bishop, the governor…I cannot be everything!...When you need to go to the Signori, do not call on me, for again I can do nothing: Go to them. And I say this to everyone; it is a waste of time to come to me – time in which I could be studying and composing a magnificent sermon in honour of God.'

On Friday 12 September 1427, the great Franciscan preacher Bernardino da Siena found cause to remonstrate with the assembled audience in his hometown. The friar argued that he should not be asked to act outside of his capacity as preacher – in the strict sense of delivering sermons which aimed to guide the spiritual and devotional lives of his listener.[1] On yet another day, Bernardino criticised the Sienese for employing friars in communal offices, such as bursars – roles that, according to the preacher, took them away from their true tasks. The response that this was done so as to forestall corruption did not hold any weight with the preacher, who was insistent that religious should not be employed in what were ostensibly roles for lay civic officials.[2]

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* This study was conducted under the auspices of the *Religion and Public Life in Late Medieval Italy* AHRC-funded project headed by Prof. Frances Andrews. The project seeks to investigate relations between secular and religious communities in late medieval Italy using the phenomenon of secular office-holding by monks and friars nominally dedicated to a life of detachment from the secular world.

[1] Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, ed. Carlo Delcorno, 2 vols. (Milan: 1989), II, p. 805 – *Voi volete ch'io sia papa, ch'io sia vescovo, ch'io sia rettore…Oh, io non posso fare ogni cosa, io!..Quando ti bisogna andare a' Signori, non capitare a me, che anco non ti posso fare nulla…E questo dico a ognuno; però che 'l vostro venire a me è uno perdimento di tempo; che potrei stare a studiare e fare una predicozza a la magnifica a onore di Dio*.

[2] Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (London: 1980), p. 31. Bernardino had also made similar comments in Siena in 1425, to the anger of the audience, forcing Bernardino to exclaim

Despite the warning words of Bernardino (and, indeed, evincing the need for them), his own medium of communication – the sermon – had long been employed by numerous preachers to elucidate on all manner of topics, including being put into the service or support of ruling bodies, with a view to influencing civic issues and political affairs. Indeed, preachers could be appointed by governing bodies with this particular task in mind, the sort of official civic position which, from his previous words, one might imagine Bernardino remonstrating about as being more appropriately filled by a lay orator – perhaps especially in Italy's city-states more than elsewhere, as secular public oratory had been revived in this region as early as the twelfth century.[3]

Bernardino's complaints serve to reflect a society in which the political and religious discourses were inextricably intertwined, and where the guidance of a holy man was both sought after and could have particularly powerful socio-political repercussions. This thesis thus seeks to explore this intertwining by examining the cooperative relationships between governing authorities and mendicant preachers in fifteenth-century Italy, a period in which the developments of humanism and classical rhetoric and the observant reform movements had a significant impact on the art and profile of preaching. This will be achieved chiefly through detailed case-studies of the Dominican preachers Leonardo Mattei (1400-1470) in Udine and Tommaso dai Liuti (c.1420-c.1481) in Ferrara, and the Franciscan Giovanni Coltellini (c.1355-1437) in Bologna, and will culminate in a comparative analysis of their preaching in support of the governing authority.

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that he would not remain quiet. Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari*, ed. Ciro Cannarozzi, 5 vols. (Florence: 1934-1940), II, p. 233.

[3] Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Rhetoric in Medieval and Renaissance Culture', *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed. James J. Murphy (London: 1983), pp. 1-19, p. 11.

The role of religious within processes of political decision-making and legitimisation is, of course, an old one – identified, for instance, by Peter Brown in the role of ascetic holy men as 'hinge-men' in Late Antiquity, greasing the wheels of legal and political reform by providing respected spiritual endorsement with a perceived impartiality.[4] The most prominent holy men of late medieval Italy, the mendicant preachers, could be said to have also continued this tradition. Indeed, a 'politicisation' of the sermon from the fourteenth century on was identified by Beryl Smalley, through the increasing use of sermons at political occasions and as, 'propaganda for the political programme of a ruler or a party.'[5] Larissa Taylor was also struck by the surprisingly 'business-like' relationship of town government and preacher in late medieval France, 'based on oral agreements, contracts, and sometimes accompanied by legal proceedings.'[6] For Italy, Carlo Delcorno has observed that an awareness of political issues – from the *bene comune*, to relations between ruler and populace, secular and ecclesiastical power – is discernible within many mendicant sermons of the fifteenth century, even if they were not specifically political in intent.[7] Delcorno has also outlined the rise in the fifteenth century of sermons, 'offering a

[4] Peter Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 61 (1971), pp. 80-101, esp. pp. 86, 98.

[5] Beryl Smalley, 'The Relevance of Sermon Studies to the Historian', Abstract of paper delivered at the Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium, Oxford, 18-20 July, 1979, abstract printed in *Medieval Sermon Studies Newsletter* (1979), pp. 2-3, p. 3. Smalley referred to the sermons of several English preachers as examples, and asked for further widerspread study of this phenomenon. See also David L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: 1985), p. 256.

[6] Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (Oxford: 1992), p. 36. See also Hervé Martin, *Le métier du prédicateur à la fin du Moyen Age, 1350-1520* (Paris: 1988), p. 71, who noted what he described as an 'institutilisation' of preaching from the first half of the fifteenth-century in France.

[7] Carlo Delcorno, 'Medieval Preaching in Italy (1200-1500)', *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout: 2000), pp. 449-560, p. 542.

discourse which is almost totally separated from liturgical occasions.'[8] Zawart had earlier identified these as a new type of sermon – the *sermo casualis*, connected to political rather than ecclesiastical events.[9] These points are highly significant for the exploration of the use of sermons for purposes beyond religious and moral education. This potential for a close link between governing authority and preacher in fifteenth-century Italy should not really be surprising. After all, any preacher who wished to preach publicly had first to gain the permission of the ruling body to do so, an act which implies a form of negotiation between the two parties.[10] Moreover, in a world in which religion was an intrinsic feature of public life, the mendicant preacher personified this inseparable quality of religious and secular concerns, moving freely from the convent to *piazza*, and equally at home in both.

However, despite this awareness of the political potential of sermons, the close cooperative relationship of preacher and government has received little attention in comparison to other aspects of preaching and sermon studies. In works which do mention it, this relationship most often tends to merit either a passing reference, or, sometimes, an extended discussion but without deep analysis.[11] Studies have often lacked precise explanations of the nature of the relationship and the reasons which brought it into being and sustained it. Moreover, discussions have tended to centre around extraordinary, usually spiritually-inspired, events, or acts undertaken by the

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[8] Delcorno, 'Medieval Preaching in Italy', p. 467.

[9] Anscar Zawart, *The History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers (1209-1927): A Bio-Bibliographical Study* (New York: 1928), p. 246.

[10] Cynthia Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: Bernardino of Siena and his Audience* (Washington, D.C.: 2000), p. 56.

[11] For the former, see, for instance, the already-mentioned Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ*. For the latter, an example is Roberto Rusconi, '"Predicò in piazza": politica e predicazione nell'Umbria del '400', *Signorie in Umbria tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: L'esperienza dei Trinci* (Foligno: 1989). pp. 113-141, who forwards the examples of the intervention of several itinerant preachers in statute reform.

preacher outside of their primary role as deliverers of sermons. There has also been a tendency to limit analysis to either a profile of individual preachers, or to focus solely on one city.[12] Recently, Peter Howard has admirably attempted to shed further light on the place and frequency of the preacher's sermons within political processes in Florence.[13] The restriction to Florence in itself, however, reveals another gap in previous studies: that is, the lack of attempts at comparison between examples from differing socio-political contexts.

This introduction will seek to present a brief overview of the historiography on preaching and sermon studies, in addition to highlighting the continuing gaps in scholarship on fifteenth-century preaching and interactions with government. The aims and objectives of this study will then be detailed, along with the methodology and a description of the main types of sources used.

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[12] On preaching and relations with civic authorities during a spiritual movement, see for instance Augustine Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233* (Oxford: 1992); On individual preachers, see, for instance, on Giovanni Dominici, Daniel Bornstein, 'Giovanni Dominici, the Bianchi, and Venice: Symbolic Action and Interpretive Grids', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 23, 2 (Spring, 1993), pp. 143-171; Rosa Maria Dessì, 'Pratiche della parola di pace nella storia dell'Italia urbana', in *Pace e guerra nel basso Medioevo*, ed. eadem (Spoleto: 2004), pp. 271-312, esp. pp.295-298; On (though not exclusively) Bernardino da Feltre, see Maria Muzzarelli, *Pescatori di uomini: Predicatori e piazze alla fine del Medioevo*, (Bologna: 2005), esp. from p. 193. For an extensive study of the relationship between sermons and secular authority in one city, see Bernadette Paton, *Preaching Friars and the Civic Ethos: Siena 1380-1480* (London: 1992), esp. pp. 87-124.

[13] Peter Howard, *Beyond the Written Word: Preaching and Theology in the Florence of Archbishop Antoninus, 1427-1459* (Florence: 1995), p. 6; See also Idem., 'The Politics of Devotion: Preaching, Piety and Public Life in Renaissance Florence', *Cultures of Devotion: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, eds. Peter Howard & Cynthia Troup (Clayton: 2000), pp. 29-42 ; Idem., 'The Impact of Preaching in Renaissance Florence: Fra Niccolò da Pisa at San Lorenzo', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 48 (2004), pp. 29-44.

1. The History of Preaching and Sermon Studies:

Up until the 1970s, the preaching of sermons in the Middle Ages was almost exclusively examined solely for second-hand evidence on social and religious habits in a distinctly narrative approach, with the occasional study cropping up which examined the sermon as a literary genre.[14] Medieval preaching and sermons, and its consequent study, was also not without its heavy detractors, even from others who preached, such as F. W. Farrar, who commented that such study was almost worthless because, 'they [preachers] have ploughed with the unequally-yoked ox and ass of science and sermon-making, and made texts an excuse for saying this and that as it pleased them, with no thought of the real meaning of them.'[15] Scholarship on mendicant preaching also tended to be carried out predominantly by members of the Orders, and thus a predisposition towards their own could sometimes appear in their works.[16] The study of medieval preaching in Italy began in the early twentieth century with individuals such as Luigi Marenco and Alfredo Galletti, who examined rhetorical procedures, and was carried on into the 1920s and 30s in a more critical and methodical form by scholars such as J. T. Welter (on *exempla*), Harry Caplan, and Thomas Marie Charland (on preacher handbooks), who nevertheless focussed less on the motives and intentions of the preachers, and more on the rhetorical methods

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[14] For instance, see Rudolf Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* (Detmold: 1879); Edwin C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, 2 vols. (New York: 1905-1912); On the literary form of sermons, see for instance, Harry Caplan, 'The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching', *Speculum*, 4, No. 3 (1929), pp. 282-290.

[15] F. W. Farrar, *History of Interpretation* (London: 1886), p. 246, n. 1.

[16] See, for instance, the earlier editions of *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* or *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* (hereafter referred to as *AFH* and *AFP*, respectively). As an example of a monograph, see Zawart, *The History of Franciscan Preaching*.

utilised.[17] Moreover, these studies tended to be based principally on model sermons and sermon guides, rather than examining instances of preached sermons. The study of sermons as a literary genre also often made no recourse to the political, social, economic and religious contexts, and ignored their original function as an oral event.

In the last forty years, however, sermon studies have been transformed, with a far greater emphasis placed on the structure and transmission of the sermon within the context of the social milieu which created it. A major catalyst for this was the publication of J. B. Schneyer's invaluable catalogue of medieval Latin sermon incipits and explicits, the *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, which appeared in the 1970s.[18] Highlighting the potential of the vast repository of surviving but unexplored sermons in the libraries of Europe, Schneyer's work opened up new avenues of scholarship, and turned the study of preaching and sermons into an interdisciplinary effort, with historians, language specialists, theologians, philosophers, scholars of politics and law, amongst others, all turning their attention to this largely untapped historical resource.[19] Extra-textual questions progressed from the date and place of delivery, the preacher's identity and intended audience, to wider questions on the social and intellectual contexts of sermons, and to what these could reveal concerning medieval perceptions of such subjects as death,

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[17] Luigi Marenco, *L'Oratoria sacra italiana nel Medio Evo* (Savona: 1900); Alfredo Galletti, *L'Eloquenza: dalle origini al XVI secolo* (Milan: 1904); J. T. Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Âge* (Paris: 1927); Caplan, 'The Four Senses'; Thomas Marie Charland, *Artes Praedicandi: contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au Moyen Âge* (Paris: 1936).

[18] Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, 11 vols. (Münster: 1969-1980).

[19] See, for instance, the collection of essays in *Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*, eds. Georgiana Donavin, Cary J. Nederman, & Richard Utz (Turnhout: 2004).

sanctity, women, daily life and the economy, among many others.[20] Increasingly, studies have been produced which have attempted to recover the oral, live, nature of the sermon, including audience reaction, participation, and performative features.[21]

While a great amount of work has now been produced with regards to preaching in fifteenth-century Italy, it has also suffered from some limitations which are not immediately apparent – to a large extent due to the great volume of research which serves to mask these limitations. Two major factors are responsible, the first providing an initial stumbling block in beginning new research on fifteenth-century preaching, and the second dominating the field of research to an extent where it becomes difficult to move outside its confines and deductions.

The first factor is that Schneyer's *Repertorium* does not go beyond 1350. This was to an extent a deliberate decision on Schneyer's part, as he felt that many Renaissance sermons were a denigration of what had come before, influenced by classical oratory

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[20] Augustine Thompson, 'From Texts to Preaching: Retrieving the Medieval Sermon as an Event', *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: 2002), pp. 13-37, p. 14. See also, for instance (though with a critical eye), Raymond de Roover, *San Bernardino of Siena and Sant'Antonino of Florence: The Two Great Economic Thinkers of the Middle Ages* (Boston, Mass.: 1967); also, *Il diavolo in pulpito: spettri e demoni nelle prediche medievale*, ed. Vittorio Dornetti (Milan: 1991); *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*, eds. Nicole Bériou & David L. d'Avray (Spoleto: 1994); Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: 1994); *Predicazione e società nel Medioevo: riflessione etica, valori e modelli di comportamento*, eds. Laura Gaffuri & Riccardo Quinto (Padua: 2002); Kimberly A. Rivers, *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice: Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: 2010).

[21] Such as Thompson, 'From Texts to Preaching'; See also Valentina Berardini, 'Discovering Performance Indicators in Late Medieval Sermons', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 54 (2010), pp. 75-86. Despite this flurry of activity, Beverly Mayne Kienzle, in 'Introduction', *The Sermon*, ed. eadem (Turnhout: 2000), pp. 143-174, p. 144, noted that a vast number of medieval sermons remain unedited and unexplored.

and more interested in style than substance.[22] Recently, there has been an attempt by Ludwig Hödl to rectify this omission and take the *Repertorium* up to the end of the fifteenth century, based upon Schneyer's unpublished catalogues, but this effort can be called only partially successful, as it fails to identify many of the sermons held in Italian collections (due to Schneyer's disdain of Renaissance sermons mentioned above).[23] By and large, Hödl's supplement contained only those works determined the most important, widely disseminated, or contained in German archives. Effectively, calls for a full catalogue of sermons for the fifteenth century are yet to be met.[24]

At least in part due to this lack of a source catalogue, preaching and sermon studies in fifteenth-century Italy have consisted largely of investigations into those preachers who have had their sermon collections published in modern times. This has caused Peter Howard to comment as recently as 2010 that, 'the decades spanning the late 1420s to the late 1480s…remain largely unexplored from the perspective of sermon studies.'[25] For the first half of the Quattrocento, sermon scholarship has equated to a huge amount of work dedicated to Bernardino da Siena, and for the end of the period, to Girolamo Savonarola. The works of only a handful of other preachers have received concerted attention due to the modern publication or partial publication of their works – individuals such as Giovanni Dominici, Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce,

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[22] John W. O'Malley, 'Content and Rhetorical Forms in Sixteenth-Century Treatises on Preaching', *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed. James J. Murphy (London: 1983), pp. 238-252, p. 238, n. 2.

[23] Ludwig Hödl, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit 1350-1500: nach den Vorarbeiten von J. B. Schneyer*, CD-ROM (Münster: 2001).

[24] David d'Avray, in *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350* (Oxford: 1994), p. 15, hoped that an extension of Schneyer's catalogues could lead to a thorough investigation of early printed sermons; Delcorno, 'Medieval Preaching in Italy', p. 512, called for a catalogue of extant vernacular sermons to be compiled to match that of Schneyer's Latin-only catalogue.

[25] Peter Howard, '"You Cannot Sell Liberty For All The Gold There Is": Promoting Good Governance in Early Renaissance Florence', *Renaissance Studies*, 24, 2 (2010), pp. 207-233, p. 212.

Bernardino da Feltre, Giacomo della Marca, and Giovanni da Capestrano.[26] All were major preachers in their time, with the last three named considered as direct successors to Bernardino da Siena. Simply due to the sheer amount of unexplored, unedited sermons remaining, significant aspects of the culture, mechanics, reception and thought of fifteenth-century mendicant preaching nonetheless remains to be fleshed out, in particular with regard to those preachers who were not part of the Franciscan Observance, not one of the standout names of preaching, and were not by virtue of that status in some ways distinct from more commonplace preachers and their sermons. Indeed, the focus of study on these preachers may have been caused, to an extent, by an element of scholarly bias as well as their historical visibility. All those mentioned continued to preach variants of the medieval tradition of preaching, eschewing the spreading influences of humanism and the classical tradition – and thus avoiding the negative connotations which have surrounded sermons bearing such hallmarks. These associations have their roots in the works of Luther and Erasmus, and have been conveyed into the twentieth century by scholars such as Schneyer.[27] However, as Kristeller pointed out, 'they [modern historians] do not seem to notice that they are in fact condemning in literature the same phenomenon that they profess to admire in the art of the same period, namely, a combination of religious content and classical form.'[28] Thus, if preaching and sermon studies of the Middle Ages have only

[26] Delcorno, 'Medieval Preaching in Italy', pp. 526-541 outlines the current modern editions of mendicant sermons up to 2000. Mostly not included are editions of non-mendicant sermons, for instance John M. McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome: An Edition and Translation of Sermones pro sancto Hieronymo* (Temple, AZ: 1999). Surprisingly, there have been no new modern editions of the sermons of Quattrocento Italian mendicant preachers since then. Also available, however, is Domenica Narducci, *I sermoni di Domenica da Paradiso: studi e testo critico*, eds. Rita Librandi, Adriana Valerio (Florence: 1999), who was a female follower of Savonarola.

[27] O'Malley, 'Content and Rhetorical Forms', p. 238, n. 2.

[28] Kristeller, 'Rhetoric in Medieval and Renaissance Culture', p. 15.

gained serious critical momentum in the last forty-odd years, then the study of a whole range of fifteenth-century preaching outside of the great, itinerant, or observant (and usually all three in one) preacher is even younger.

Even including the preachers listed above, studies of fifteenth-century preaching have overwhelmingly focussed on the figure of Bernardino da Siena. It is no exaggeration to say that the study of fifteenth-century preaching and Bernardinian studies have gone hand-in-hand, such has been the influence of this preacher's sermons on scholarship of the period (and, of course, on preaching in his own time). With regards to the modern era of sermon studies, Carlo Delcorno's publication in 1989 of a critical edition of Bernardino's 1427 sermons from Siena began a new wave of Bernardino scholarship. This includes the work of Bernadette Paton (1992), who compared Bernardino's Sienese sermons to those of local preachers in Siena; Franco Mormando (1999), who attempted a reappraisal of Bernardino's preaching, focussed on the preacher's persecution of certain social groups; Cynthia Polecritti (2000), who examined the theme of peace in Bernardino's sermons, again with special reference to the Siena sermons; and Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby (2001), who instead assessed Bernardino's impact in Florence.[29] Although there have been a few recent works produced with a focus on other fifteenth-century preachers (for instance, Maria

[29] Paton, *Preaching Friars*; Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: 1999); Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*; Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, *Renaissance Florence in the Rhetoric of Two Popular Preachers: Giovanni Dominici (1356-1419) and Bernardino da Siena (1380-1444)* (Turnhout: 2001); Other examples of sermon studies which have been founded on Bernardino's output include: Jasmin W. Cyril, *The Imagery of San Bernardino da Siena, 1440-1500: An Iconographic Study* (Ann Arbor: 1991); Maurizio Gronchi, *La cristologia di S. Bernardino da Siena: l'imago Christi nella predicazione in volgare* (Genoa: 1992); *Favole: lettura in linguaggio corrente delle prediche a sfondo pedagogico-didattico tenute a Siena nell'estate del 1427*, ed. Cinzia Bei (Massarosa: 1999); *Repertorio degli esempi volgari di Bernardino da Siena*, eds. Carlo Delcorno & Severio Amadori (Bologna: 2002). In addition, there have been a vast number of articles and essays published on aspects of Bernardinian studies.

Muzzarelli based a significant amount of her 2005 book on Bernardino da Feltre), these have to a large extent been limited to articles rather than full monographs.[30] These studies also reveal, as mentioned previously, a bias towards works on the itinerant preachers of the Franciscan Observance, who were typically the most celebrated preachers of Quattrocento Italy. The Dominican Giovanni Dominici has been the only individual to inspire thorough studies of fifteenth-century preaching before the rise of Bernardino da Siena and the focus which the Franciscan Observant movement gathered under him, while Savonarola provides the other Dominican book-end. This is not to say by any means that these Franciscan preachers did not have a great impact and presence in Quattrocento Italy. However, by concentrating on the great preachers – the ones who, by virtue of coming into widespread prominence, were perforce led into more unique relationships with their contemporaries – these studies risk establishing a false picture of typical preaching and perhaps obscuring more normative relationships with audience and authority. Illustrating this contrast, Paton's study of Sienese preaching has highlighted significant differences between the preaching of Bernardino and the more often-heard sermons of preachers from the local convents.[31] Criticism can be laid at the feet of those historians whose stated mission was to shed light on the life of a typical preacher, and then set about analysing the activities of a renowned, itinerant preacher instead.[32]

Preaching has been described as the medieval form of mass communication, because of its ability to reach a large audience both directly and through the diffusion

[30] Muzzarelli, *Pescatori di uomini*. Another example is David Rutherford, *Early Renaissance Invective and the Controversies of Antonio da Rho* (Temple, AZ: 2005).

[31] Paton, *Preaching Friars*, pp. 124, 300-301.

[32] For instance, Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ*, pp. 38-51, does this with a study of the famous French preacher Pepin.

of texts over wide areas.[33] This was never more true than in the fifteenth century, when the popularity of preaching by mendicants – who had virtual exclusivity in this field before the rise of open preaching with the Reformation – arguably reached its zenith and when toward the end of the century the written sermon could be spread ever more widely and quickly through the printed word.[34] One factor which strengthened the preacher's power to communicate was established early on in historical scholarship – the effusive claim to speak the *Vox Dei*, the very Word of God, who used preachers as His mouthpiece.[35] This status was solidified through intense self-promotion by mendicant preachers, who would evoke their occupation as the most important possession of Christianity.[36] The best-known example of this is Bernardino da Siena's statement that if one could not go to both Mass and a sermon, one should go to the sermon.[37] Moreover, not only the preacher's words, but his very self, was to be taken as a lesson and an example to be imitated by their audience.[38]

The increased popularity of public preaching may also have been influenced by the developments in sermon style and structure identified by historians of Quattrocento preaching.[39] One such development was the recourse to classical styles and techniques (in addition to lengthy citation of the classics) as espoused by the humanists.

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[33] d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 3-4.

[34] Gabriella Zarri, 'Places and Gestures of Women's Preaching in Quattro- and Cinquecento Italy', *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching 1200-1500*, eds. Katherine L. Jansen & Miri Rubin (Turnhout: 2010), pp. 177-193, p. 178.

[35] Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: 1990), pp. 21-23.

[36] E. Jane Dempsey Douglass, *Justification in Late Medieval Preaching: A Study of John Geiler of Keisersberg* (Leiden: 1966), pp. 85-86. Douglass notes that the earlier tendency had been to name the Eucharist and the Holy Sacrament instead of preaching.

[37] Bernardino da Siena, *Opera Omnia*, 9 vols. (Florence: 1950-1965), III, pp. 54-55.

[38] Dallas G. Denery II, *Seeing and Being Seen in the Later Medieval World* (Cambridge: 2005), pp. 25-28.

[39] Delcorno, 'Medieval Preaching in Italy', p. 450.

Interestingly, Bernardino da Siena's sermons do not display this development, instead bearing many similarities to sermons from earlier periods, such as those of Bonaventure.[40] As a consequence, this change is often identified as commencing from the middle of the fifteenth century – that is, following Bernardino's death.[41] The danger, however, of over-reliance on the example and output of Bernardino da Siena is exemplified, for instance, in the great deal of attention which the theme of witchcraft in fifteenth-century sermons has received. He was probably, as Mormando argues, the only preacher to speak on this topic at any great length throughout the Quattrocento, and the conclusions drawn are not corroborated by evidence outside of Bernardino's sermons.[42] Likewise, the employment of techniques of classical oratory in mendicant sermons can be found in the first half of the fifteenth century, as will be demonstrated below.[43]

In recent years, several scholars, such as Thompson and Debby, have focussed on retrieving the Quattrocento sermon as an oral event, with great emphasis placed on the *reportationes* – the versions of the sermons as recorded by eyewitnesses and which can contain notes on gestures and audience reaction.[44] This has also led to great debate on the role of the Quattrocento audience in the sermon act. Some, such as Polecritti, have argued for the great involvement of the audience, both positive and negative, in the shaping of the sermon, stating that Bernardino da Siena preached the

[40] Carlo Delcorno, 'L'*ars praedicandi* di Bernardino da Siena', *Atti del simposio internazionale Cateriniano-Bernardiniano*, eds. Domenico Maffei & Paolo Nardi (Siena: 1982), pp. 419-449 , pp. 438-439, 443. Delcorno notes that while Bernardino's preaching bears similarities to earlier sermons, he also developed and expanded upon these techniques in novel ways.

[41] For instance, Delcorno, 'Medieval Preaching in Italy', p. 481.

[42] As argued by Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons*, pp. 52-108, esp. p. 53.

[43] See Chapter 1, pp. 65-66; Chapter 4, pp. 228-229.

[44] Thompson, 'From Texts to Preaching'; Debby, *Renaissance Florence*. These follow the seminal work by Nicole Bériou, *L'Avènement des maitres de la parole: La Prédication a Paris au XIIIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: 1998).

things that, in general, his audience wanted to hear, and thus when he spoke on vendetta, peacemaking, honour, family and communal ties, it simply reflected the audience's previously-held beliefs.[45] Interestingly, Polecritti used this conclusion further to assert the power of the preacher in making the crowd react exactly as he wanted them to – a process made easier by speaking on subject matter which would knowingly appeal to his audience.[46] Conversely, Beverly Kienzle has downplayed the role of the audience, arguing that the sermon was intended to be a one-sided conversation, with the discourse emanating from a single source – the preacher – whom the audience had recognised as bearing the authority to speak by having turned up to listen to him doing so.[47] Others, such as Giles Constable (writing on an earlier period), have on the other hand made a distinction in audience role between the 'great' and the 'ordinary' preachers. The dearth of recorded reaction toward the latter group has led to conclusions that their 'routine sermon' constituted more of a ritual-bonding activity, with only passive reception elicited from the audience.[48] Kienzle partly echoed this when stating that there was a tension between 'efficacy and entertainment' within sermon performance, and that it strived to be a ritual first but could also become participative entertainment on another level.[49]

This debate on the factors which could shape the sermon is important with regards to this study, because of the focus on the political associations which could

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[45] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, p.3.

[46] ibid., p. 81. The possibility for the audience to shape the sermon in a negative fashion has also been pointed out – for example, by Delcorno, 'Medieval Preaching in Italy', p. 468, who identified the Italian audience as typically being 'difficult, noisy and rude.'

[47] Kienzle, 'Introduction', p. 152.

[48] Giles Constable, 'The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century', *Viator*, 25 (1994), pp. 131-152.

[49] Beverly Mayne Kienzle, 'Medieval Sermons and their Performance: Theory and Record', *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: 2002), pp. 89-124, pp. 90, 92.

accompany the occasion of the sermon. The preacher's remit was to persuade the audience of a particular political viewpoint or course of action, but was this sustained once the audience left the presence of the preacher? Moreover, what bearing, if any, did the make-up of the audience have on the content of the sermon, particularly if the preacher's appointees and his audience were one and the same? A process of negotiation could shape what content went into a sermon and how it was delivered – a process which may not have been solely negotiated between preacher and public, but in which the role of a third party, the public authority – that is, the town government – might also need to be considered.

The power and use of sermons to impose a layer of social control has been recognised for fifteenth-century England, and the same capacity existed in the towns of Italy.[50] The role of preachers in civic affairs in Italy in both the fifteenth century and earlier has, almost always, been studied in relation to two or three specific, and often interrelated, aspects: extraordinary events, peacemaking, and legislative activity. Such studies have moved from emphasising the preacher's position to a gradual appreciation of the role of government in coopting the preacher. For instance, Alberto Ghinato, writing in the 1950s, believed that much of the inspiration and push for eight provisions (mostly sumptuary legislation) which came to be incorporated into the statutes of Terni in 1444 came from the Franciscan preacher Giacomo della Marca, who preached there that year. However, there is evidence, stemming from previous enacted legislation and council minutes, which illustrates earlier attempts to incorporate almost identical legislation into the statutes, which suggests that the ruling body of Terni had a much greater role in planning and instigating the reforms than

[50] Alan J. Fletcher, *Preaching, Politics and Poetry in Late-Medieval England*, (Portland, OR: 1998), p. 153.

even Ghinato concluded. Giacomo was then brought in to 'popularise' the idea in order to hopefully ensure that this time the reforms were successful.[51] Ghinato himself had noticed that there were significant differences between the statutes revised in various towns after a course of Giacomo's sermons, but put this down to the preacher's intuitive sensitivity to each city's specific needs, rather than the direction of the governing body.[52] Augustine Thompson's *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy*, though concerning an earlier period, is another case in point of the particular foci of previous studies of preacher-government involvement. Examining the Great Devotion of 1233, Thompson described a movement which was in many cases led by mendicant preachers who were, 'propelled…into the role of legislator' by a combination of popular fervour and the invitation of the secular authorities of the towns of Italy which they and their followers passed through, revising municipal statutes and effecting peacemakings.[53] However, despite the acknowledgement of the central role which governing bodies could play in the preacher's involvement in civic affairs, this subdivision of fifteenth-century preaching and sermon studies continues to operate under several limitations, which, though they are explored in more detail below, can perhaps be summed up best in Letizia Pellegrini's article, 'Predicazione osservante e propaganda politica'.[54] While Pellegrini identifies the crucial role which preachers could play in promoting the

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[51] Alberto Ghinato, 'Apostolato Religioso e Sociale di S. Giacomo della Marca in Terni', *AFH* 49, 50 (1956-1957), pp. 106-142, 352-390, esp. p. 117.

[52] ibid., pp. 122-123.

[53]Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics*, p. 24; On the Great Devotion, see also Giuseppina De Sandre Gasparini, 'La pace in Antonio e nella "devotio" dei mendicanti del 1233', *Studia patavina*, 28, 3 (1981), pp. 503-508; Daniel A. Brown, 'The Alleluia: A Thirteenth Century Peace Movement', *AFH*, 81, 1-2 (1988), pp. 3-16.

[54] Letizia Pellegrini, 'Predicazione osservante e propaganda politica: a partire di un caso di Todi', *La propaganda politica nel basso Medioevo* (Spoleto: 2002), pp. 511-532.

policies of governing authorities, and the authorities' own awareness of the power of the preachers in this regard, at the same time she considers this only at times of recent political change, intimates that preaching was monopolised by the Observant orders, and does little to assess the motivations of the preachers in working with the governing authorities.[55] Moreover, Pellegrini asks whether such interaction came about through a deterioration of the preacher's focus on exclusively religious activities or whether they were simply in the pocket of the secular power.[56] There is no consideration of there being no perceived conflict between a preacher's religious calling and their involvement with governing authorities.

Daniel Lesnick also considered the notion of the preacher bringing the spiritual, 'into the service of the political' only at times of crisis, such as Giordano da Pisa's rallying of the populace around the *podestà* during the Florentine civil war in 1300.[57] The majority of studies of the interaction of preachers with governing authorities in the fifteenth century have continued along this vein, exploring the role of the preacher in extraordinary events, such as also the Bianchi movement of 1399 and the Manfredini of 1418-1423, or at moments of crisis. Whilst involvement at critical times may be the most easily identifiable examples, the focus on them has served to obscure the delivery of sermons in support of the governing authority at moments of no immediate crisis, and by inference intimates that such employment was not an important feature of public life in more stable times. Above all, when interaction between preacher and governing authority is considered, the tendency is to portray it as an act of influence of one on the other (usually, the preacher influencing the

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[55] Pellegrini, 'Predicazione osservante', pp. 519, 523, 526.

[56] ibid., p. 531

[57] Daniel Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (London: 1989), pp. 104, 107-108.

authority – for example, into enacting sumptuary legislation).[58] The idea of a naturally cooperative, mutually-beneficial relationship which enhanced the chances of both sides achieving their respective aims is seldom considered – due to an extent for a propensity in studies of preaching to examine only one side's viewpoint closely (usually, the preacher's), which consequently influences the manner of the conclusions drawn. Sermons which bear similarities to legislation passed shortly thereafter become, 'a possible influence of the preachers on the decisions reached by the government,' which, whilst not necessarily incorrect, does fail to ask if there were recent factors which caused the preacher to speak on these topics in the first instance.[59] Sermons in support of the government are, on the other hand, the products of apologists employed by that government – propaganda disguised as an independent voice.[60] This study will aim to correct this tendency by considering the motivations of, and benefits for, both preacher and authority within the context of sermons delivered in support of the governing authority.

Moreover, previous studies of preaching and governance have tended to shy away from a focus on the content of sermons. When the emendation of legislation is discussed, for example, the sermons which were often a prelude to these revisions have seldom received extensive consideration. The focus instead has been on reportage of the preachers' activity in chronicles and governmental records, and, understandably, the contents of the legislation itself. For example, Muzzarelli investigated the effects of the preaching of Giacomo della Marca and Bernardino da Feltre in the papal states (such as reform or addition to sumptuary legislation, and

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[58] See, for instance, Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 207.

[59] ibid., p. 207.

[60] Dessì, 'Pratiche della parola di pace', p. 290. Dessì does, however, go on to state that it may not be, 'precisely correct that the preachers were at the service of the state,' p. 310.

newly-avowed loyalty to the papacy), but did not delve into how the preachers set about achieving these things through their sermons.[61] As such, the actual methods and position adopted by the preacher – the causes which resulted in chroniclers commenting on the great success of their preaching – continue to be less well known than the effects and consequences. This shortfall in the analysis of the manner of the preachers' involvement in civic affairs has been ascribed to the restrictions of the sources most often employed (as described above), which tend to record the decisions made rather than the processes behind them.[62] But extant sermons, surprisingly relegated to a secondary status as source material in these instances, can provide ample evidence of the method and function of the preacher's involvement (through analysis of the objectives of the sermon and the techniques employed to promote this objective), as well as providing hints to additional governmental activities being carried out in conjunction with the preaching of the friar.

Somewhat more attention has been given to the sermons preached as part of a peacemaking – for instance, Polecritti's study of the peacemaking sermons and ceremonies conducted by Bernardino da Siena in 1427 – but these are prone at times to approach the role of the friar as a mediator between factions and individuals, rather than as a preacher.[63] In relation to this, one of the explanations which Thompson put forward for the willingness of authorities to deal with preachers was their lack of local connections, which allowed them to intervene through acts such as peacemakings

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[61] Muzzarelli, *Pescatori di uomini*, pp. 246-248. Another example is Rusconi, 'Predicò in piazza', which focuses on reactions to preaching which preceded statutary reform as recorded in narrative sources, but without analysis of any extant sermons.

[62] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 206.

[63] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*; Also see the collection of essays in *Pace e guerra nel basso Medioevo*, especially Rosa Maria Dessì, 'Pratiche della parola di pace', pp. 271-312.

without perceived bias.[64] The same argument has been raised in relation to itinerant preachers of the fifteenth century by Polecritti.[65] Indeed, this viewpoint is acquired from Bernardino da Siena's own emphasis on his status as an outsider, but it is arguable to what extent such self-description can also be applied to other itinerant preachers.[66] Governing authorities also dealt with local preachers, and on a more regular basis. Bernadette Paton, in her study of local preachers in Siena, identified an emphasis on local sentiment and identity running through the sermons of those preachers, even when speaking on issues of governance, rather than a shying away from any connection with the inhabitants.[67]

There have been past attempts at discerning the motivations which lay behind the preacher's interaction with governing authorities and interest in civic affaris. For instance, G. R. Owst, in his notable study of fifteenth-century preaching in England, characterised the preachers as champions of the poor.[68] Daniel Lesnick came to a similar conclusion with regard to fourteenth-century Franciscan preachers, while Debby framed Bernardino da Siena's actions as a social concern with the lower classes, with references to public authorities in his sermons often couched in terms of veiled criticism, in order to urge them to reform.[69] Indeed, Debby's focus on

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[64] Thompson, *Revival Preachers*, p. 179, 209, 210.

[65] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, pp. 99-101.

[66] Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari*, I, p. 325; See Chapter 4, p. 194.

[67] Paton, *Preaching Friars*, p. 119.

[68] Gerald Robert Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c.1350-1450* (Cambridge: 1926). It can be argued that there was a different situation and a different role for mendicant preachers at work in England, though similar conceptions have permeated studies of other places and periods, as below. Also see, for instance, E. T. Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto: 1984), esp. p. 161.

[69] Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence*, p. 81. Lesnick's categorisation of Franciscans as catering to the lower classes whilst Dominican preachers were favoured by elite audience has come in for

Bernardino's (and Giovanni Dominici's) criticism of authorities influences her outlook on the relationship between preacher and government. Bernardino's reluctance to criticise *openly* is acknowledged, but Debby nevertheless continues to frame engagement between preacher and authority in purely conflictual terms – a dialogue of argument, if restrained, rather than support. For instance, it is stated that Bernardino never involved himself in local politics because he did not, 'confront the secular authorities.'[70] The potential for cooperative interaction between preacher and governing authority is alluded to only in brief mentions of their possible role as peacemakers or shared interest in sumptuary legislation (rather than, say, direct support of the governing body) and thus the conclusion is reached that, 'more often…the preachers led the opposition on political and cultural issues…or against a pragmatic policy on marginal social groups…'[71]

Recently, however, Peter Howard has attempted to transfer the focus to cooperation between preachers and the ruling authorities. Starting with his work on the Dominican Antonino Pierozzi, archbishop of Florence (1389-1459), and extending through several articles, Howard has built up a picture of a city in which the preacher was constantly utilised by the governing authority to buttress and raise support for policies, legislation, and the ruling body in general, arguing that Florence was,

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criticism. For instance, Jussi Hanska, *"And the Rich Man also Died; and He was Buried in Hell": The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons* (Helsinki: 1997), pp. 138-139, commented that, 'Lesnick's connection between the social origins of the friars and their clientele seems a bit hasty…From what we know of the preferences of medieval audiences it can be argued that most of the people went to the place where the best available preacher was giving a sermon, no matter from what order he was.'; Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 70.

[70] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 29.

[71] ibid.p. 210. For Debby's assessment of the preachers' involvement in political issues, see pp. 29, 57-90, in particular. pp. 77-78 (on role as peacemakers), 87.

'governed by an oral culture and tradition that was largely preached.'[72] Howard envisioned the role of the preacher as one which turned, 'abstract modes of thought to concrete in order to give coherence and direction to behaviour in the city' – a role which could encompass political as well as moral direction.[73] His study of Antonino revealed – through examination of chancery letters and sermons – that the Florentine government turned to the archbishop and his sermons in a politically-divisive period in order for him to quell fears of civil strife.[74] Of course, Antonino held an official and prominent position within the city through his role as archbishop, which invites the question as to the extent to which his experiences with the governing authorities can be extended to mendicant preachers who did not hold ecclesiastical office. Furthermore, Howard also saw the preacher and the humanist orator as, 'co-opted to the service of competing policies and political interests' in fifteenth-century Florence, employed for similar reasons but with divergent ideologies placing them on opposing sides, rather than both being appointed by one political interest with the same intention.[75] This conclusion merits further study – in particular, can instances be found where mendicant preacher and lay orator might be employed toward the same purpose?[76]

Howard's investigations do not extend beyond Florence, leaving the other city-states of Italy without a similar appraisal and therefore little with which to compare Howard's findings. The closest such work is Paton's earlier study of Florence's longtime rival, Siena, and the activities of the local preachers therein. Paton outlined a

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[72] Peter Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, p. 6; See also Idem., 'The Politics of Devotion'; Idem., 'The Impact of Preaching in Renaissance Florence'.

[73] Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, p. 169.

[74] ibid., p. 140.

[75] Howard, 'The Politics of Devotion', p. 32.

[76] See Chapter 4, pp. 230.

picture of mutual benfit engendered by cooperation between preachers and authorities, in which the thought of mendicants on justice, obedience, and the common good were often in line with the desires of the governing body.[77] In this period many of the governments of Italy took a leading hand in issues of morality, welfare, and religious practice – issues which were traditionally of particular interest to the mendicant preacher.[78] However, no extensive study has consciously followed up on Paton's or Howard's observations. Indeed, there are relatively few studies of public preaching – of any kind – in Italy outside the Tuscan cities of Florence and Siena.[79]

However, in 2010 a collection of essays, entitled *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching 1200-1500*, was published, which broadly dealt with the issue of the involvement of preachers in affairs of governance. Among these essays was one by Stephen Milner entitled, 'Rhetorics of Transcendence: Conflict and Intercession in Communal Italy, 1300-1500', in which Milner argues that the charismatic authority of the preacher often filled a vaccuum of legitimacy in the communes of Italy, where official positions changed hands

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[77] Paton, *Preaching Friars*, pp. 87-90.

[78] John M. Najemy, 'Governments and Governance', ed. John M. Najemy, *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance 1300-1550* (Oxford: 2004), pp. 184-207, p. 204.

[79] In this regard, Rusconi's examination of preaching in Umbria in '"Predicò in piazza"' is a welcome change. Investigations of preaching in other, larger urban centres such as Milan and Bologna have often been limited to preachers' efforts at setting up Monte di Pietà, such as *Alle origini dei Monte di Pietà: I Francescani fra etica ed economia nella Società del Tardo Medioevo: studi in occasione delle celebrazioni nel V centenario della morte del beato Michele Carcano (1427-1484), fondatore del Monte di Pietà di Bologna* (Bologna: 1984). Preaching at the papal court in Rome has been the subject of several studies, but not preaching to the Roman citizenry. Moreover, these studies focus largely on the sixteenth century rather than the fifteenth. See John O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c.1450-1521* (Durham, N.C.: 1979), and Frederick McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton, N.J.: 1995). Also see Marc Fumaroli, *L'Age de l'eloquence: Rhétorique et "res literaria" de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Geneva: 1980), which discusses rhetorical traditions in Rome, though largely for the post-Tridentine period.

frequently and, moreover, did not gain their authority from the two traditional sources of papacy or empire. Thus, mendicant preachers, 'devolved their charismatic authority to the existing, or reformed, institutions of the commune,' a function which made them an essential and everyday part of governance.[80] This follows on the role fulfilled by religious of all kinds in the public life of Florence as argued by Richard Trexler – namely, the continuous employment of their sacral power to provide added legitimacy to communal institutions.[81] However, Milner does not furnish his essay with any concrete examples, and intimates that this function was much diminished in non-republican city-states.[82]

2. Aims:

Although previous studies have come to such conclusions as: 'the presence of the preacher was meant to solidify a groundswell of pre-existing support,' these statements have invariably been accompanied by a caveat or context such as: 'miscellaneous *social* legislation could be pushed through a town council during the visit of an *especially charismatic* friar.'[83] This thesis aims to realign the focus of the study of preaching and governance away from the contexts of criticism, unique movements and preachers, or legislative activity, and instead look toward the role of the public official as played by the sedentary preacher in several politically-distinct

[80] Stephen J. Milner, 'Rhetorics of Transcendence: Conflict and Intercession in Communal Italy, 1300-1500', eds. Katherine L. Jansen & Miri Rubin, *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching 1200-1500* (Turnhout: 2010), pp. 235-251, p. 244.

[81] Trexler, *Public Life*, pp. 33. Trexler also noted the influence of the charismatic authority of Savonarola on civic affairs (pp. 189-190, 540)

[82] Milner, 'Rhetorics of Transcendence', p. 242.

[83] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, p. 111; 105. Italics are my own.

contexts, with the issue of legislation (and not necessarily social or moral legislation) involved only on a secondary level, and the preacher's main occupation, the giving of sermons, at the forefront. This will also serve to highlight the adaptability of the preacher to context, whether across a span of years or across different genres and audiences, through, for example, alterations in the method of discussion of a certain topic, or the differing styles of delivery employed.

As in Milner's analysis, the quality of charisma is often mentioned in the same breath as discussion of itinerant (and usually Observant Franciscan) preachers.[84] That is, it has been equated with widespread fame, thus obscuring from the historical picture those preachers who chose to remain in one location for an extensive period, but may have been considered no less a draw within that more limited geographical space. Likewise, focus on the rise of the Observant movements in the Quattrocento has obscured the preaching of Conventuals by comparison. Roberto Caracciolo (who had formerly been an Observant), is the only Quattrocento Conventual preacher who has benefitted from sustained scholarly notice.[85] Moreover, the engagement of

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[84] See also, for instance, Alberto Ghinato, 'La predicazione francescane nella vita religiosa e sociale del Quattrocento', *Picenum seraphicum*, 10 (1973), pp. 24-98; Mariano D'Alatri, 'L'Osservanza marchigiana nel Quattrocento', *Il beato Pietro da Mogliano (1435-1490) e l'Osservanza francescana* (Rome: 1993), pp. 55-69, p. 60, who describes the allure of itinerant Observant preaching as bringing about a 'unanimous' wish from the populace and governments of towns in the Marches to establish Observant communities.

[85] For instance, *Il Rinnovamento del Francescanesimo: l'Osservanza: Atti del'XI Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 20-22 ottobre 1983* (Assisi: 1985), especially the essays by Duncan Nimmo and Kaspar Elm, pp. 107-147, 149-167; Mario Sensi, *Le osservanze francescane nell'Italia centrale (secoli XIV-XV)* (Rome: 1985); Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Franciscan Order 1226-1538*, 2nd ed. (Rome: 1995). For the Dominican observant movement, see D.-A. Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres généraux de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*, 7 vols (Paris: 1903-1914), vol. 3, pp. 518-582; Michael David Bailey, *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: 2003), pp. 80-87. On Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce, see for instance, Laura Gasparri, 'Sulla tradizione manoscritta delle prediche di Roberto da Lecce. Con due sermoni inediti' *AFH*, 73 (1980),

itinerant, high-status preachers with governing authorities may well have varied significantly from that of their local or less celebrated counterparts. One major indication of this is the lack of identified participation in the creation or emendation of statutes, an event which appears to have been reserved for the appearance of one of the great itinerant preachers. But, in what other, potentially more common, ways could the preacher come to the support of the governing authority? This thesis seeks to highlight the critical role of the sermon in unifying, supporting, and promoting the governing regimes of the cities wherein they were preached. And specifically, sermons which were preached by native preachers who were deeply acquainted with the cities in which they delivered their sermons. Measuring impact remains a problematic process, especially in terms of deriving a direct correlation between cause and effect. These sermons were not delivered in a vacuum, but rather worked as part of a larger process of attempts (successful or not) at stabilisation, unification, and the engendering of support for the governing authority, involving elements unconnected to the sermons – though they might be mentioned by them.

Studies of legal reforms which can be associated with great preachers might have the advantage of being more convincingly able to measure impact by, for instance, looking at the period of time the reforms covered, or the measures which were enacted in order to enforce them. But where they have done so, they have concluded that these events, though they attracted much contemporary attention, were transient. For instance, statutes revised by preachers invariably lasted for a short period of time

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pp. 173-225; E.V. Telle, 'En marge de l'éloquence sacrée aux XVe-XVIe siècles. Érasme et Fra Roberto Caracciolo', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 43 (1981), pp. 449-470; Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce, *Quaresimale padovano 1455: edizione critica*, ed. Oriana Visani (Padua: 1983).

before being repealed or disregarded.[86] The same appears to hold true for the notable acts of peacemaking. Indeed, that same attention speaks of their infrequent or out-of-the-ordinary nature, whereas the preaching of sermons in support of the governing authority was more a more deeply embedded affair in the course of public life. Indeed, Augustine Thompson has argued that the efforts of the preachers to effect at least moral reform through sermons rather than legislative intervention had a far longer-lasting impact.[87] This suggests that the strength of oral communication of codes of behaviour could outweigh its written counterpart – even if both types might bear the hand of the same individual. Thompson was, of course, writing about the thirteenth century, and it is debatable whether this statement could be applied to the same extent for the fifteenth. The short-lived nature of both the reforms of the great preachers and much sumptuary legislation suggests that the argument continued to have merit. Nevertheless, whether the same argument for longer-lasting impact could be applied to sermons with a political slant rather than an objective of moral reform or spiritual education remains debatable.

Milner has pointed out that, 'secondary literature [on preaching] seems to fall into the pattern of reading such figures politically as either apologists for, or critics of, a particular regime or social class, thereby reducing theology to ideology.'[88] That is, interaction between preacher and authority is viewed as the result of a strong political and moral stance on the part of the preacher, rather than being motivated by religious concerns which could find parallels – or not – in the activity of the governing body.

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[86] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, pp. 90, 155, 207; Ghinato, 'Apostolato Religioso', pp. 138-141, describes the various modifications and revisions made to statutes in Terni which bore Giacomo della Marca's influence, starting just over a year after their original enactment.

[87] Thompson, *Revival Preachers*, p. 189.

[88] Milner, 'Rhetorics of Transcendence', p. 244.

Essentially, religious and political thought is regarded as mutually distinct, and one can only cross over and become the other, rather than existing in the Quattrocento as inseperable and mutually-supporting entities. Yet Milner himself seems to fall into a similar trap, essentially viewing the relationship between preacher and secular authority as a competitive one, in which the latter, in the form of a communal government, could find itself succumbing to the charismatic authority of the former, whilst in cities under signorial rule the relationship might be reversed.[89] This idea of competition appears engendered in previous studies by means of the very notion of charismatic authority, which is often identified as emerging in response to ineffectual traditional authority, and which effects change by working outside the existing power structures – that is, the governing authority was forced to cede some fraction of its power upon the visit of a charismatic preacher. Yet, this study proposes that the relationship could frequently be primarily cooperative (although neither competition nor the ceding of power was necessarily entirely excluded), with the preacher operating within and for an existing structure but through a context which also gave him a general platform to air his views, thus encompassing a relationship of mutual benefit. In addition, by being contracted to the position of, say, the city's Lenten preacher, and in receiving monetary remuneration for their work, the preacher might even be said to have not fulfilled one of Weber's identifying features of true charismatic authority – a perceived separation from worldly ties.[90] In other words, the charismatic authority of the preacher had undergone a part-routinisation which

[89] Milner, 'Rhetorics of Transcendence', esp. p. 242.

[90] *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. and trans. by H. H. Gerth & C. Wright Mills (London: 1974) (first published 1948), pp. 245-248. The other features are specific gifts of the body and spirit, and a sense of divine mission.

enabled them to work in tandem with the established governing authority.[91] By acknowledging but also looking beyond the quality of charisma, this study can also delve deeper into the cooperative relationship between preacher and governing authority, without arriving to the conclusion that the preacher acted as a mere apologist.

The question of what motivated a preacher into lending his sermons to the support of a governing authority must also undergo further exploration. The incentives for the preacher to do so have not often been explored, even when the act has been acknowledged.[92] For instance, Howard described the employment by Lorenzo de' Medici of the Augustinian Mariano da Genazzano to preach to the Florentine *Signoria* in order to convince them of the wisdom of an ordinance he wanted secured. But Howard did not explore the possible reasons why the preacher may have acceded to do such a thing.[93] Scholars have preferred to study the effects (whether on morals or socio-economic) rather than the reasons for involvement. The conclusions drawn by Paton in this regard, on the other hand, rely heavily on non-preached material, such as mendicant treatises, rather than the evidence which the sermons themselves can reveal, and thus they require comparison with other data.[94] One could also posit the idea, for instance, that the preacher's acceptance of a supportive or promotional role suggests a process of negotiation taking place, wherein the preacher was gifted a public forum for his teachings in return for his service to the government – after all, such sermons were often a part of a larger cycle or a lengthy remit to preach.

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[91] As Milner, 'Rhetorics of Transcendence', p. 244 accepts, though he later also states that, 'the permanency of established forms of social ordering were often threatened', during an act of charismatic preaching, and cites the example of Savonarola.

[92] With some exceptions, as discussed above, pp. 21, 23-24.

[93] For instance, Howard, 'The Politics of Devotion', p. 31.

[94] Paton, *Preaching Friars*, pp. 87-90.

Probably owing to the lack of a comprehensive source catalogue for fifteenth-century Italian sermons, and leaving aside the often unique context of the great itinerant preachers, a great wealth of sermons and subject matter for the period remains unexplored. This has in turn meant a lack of extensive comparative studies and data, despite sermons having been previously identified as useful sources for comparative history, because of the ability to identify similarities and differences in responses and attitudes to similar themes over time and place.[95] Collected works on various aspects of preaching and sermons, such as its place in society, relationship with audience, or presentation of ethical issues, for instance, ranging across Europe and the breadth of the Middle Ages, bear evidence of this comparative potential. However, by their nature, these collections contain articles themselves focussing on a sole aspect or individual, and any effort at comparison between them is largely, if not wholly, left to the reader.[96]

Efforts at the comparative history of preaching by sole authors has usually been limited to incisive but brief overviews. Louis-Jacques Bataillon was perhaps the greatest exponent of this, devoting several short articles to comparing medieval preaching in France and Italy, and consciously regarding them as starting-points

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[95] d'Avray, 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', p. 5.

[96] For instance, *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: 2002); *Predicazione e società nel Medioevo: riflessione etica, valori e modelli di comportamento*, eds. Laura Gaffuri & Riccardo Quinto (Padua: 2002); *Letteratura in forma di sermone: I rapporti tra predicazione e letteratura nei secoli XIII-XVI*, eds. Ginetta Auzzas, Giovanni Baffetti, & Carlo Delcorno (Florence: 2003). There are exceptions, of course. See, for example, *Women Preachers and Prophets Through Two Millennia of Christianity*, eds. Beverly Mayne Kienzle & Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley, CA: 1998).

(repeatedly suggesting that such efforts deserved a larger study).[97] Beryl Smalley, in an older example of the value of comparative studies in preaching, drew out highly intriguing distinctions in the use of the classics by English and Italian preachers in the fourteenth century.[98] David d'Avray has written with regards to memorial preaching over a *longue durée* period.[99] Carlo Delcorno has completed a valuable overview of late medieval preaching throughout north and central Italy – with a focus, for the fifteenth century, on Observant preaching – while Roberto Rusconi produced a sourcebook of medieval Italian preaching. Both provide good starting-points for in-depth comparative study. [100]

Comparative studies of this nature are a necessary step for sermon studies and the history of preaching in order to highlight key differences and/or similarities in style, delivery, and interaction with both audience and public authority. As Chris Wickham has stated, 'if you don't compare, you end up believing one type of historical development is normal, normative, and that every other is a deviation.'[101] Focussing on the sermons of little-studied Quattrocento preachers is a vital exercise in broadening the understanding of use, delivery, and objective. For instance, the comparative approach can help to identify whether sermons with a political message

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[97] For instance, Louis-Jacques Bataillon, 'La predicazione dei religiosi mendicanti del secolo XIII nell'Italia centrale', *Mélanges de l'école Française de Rome*, 89, 2 (1977), pp. 691-694.

[98] Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: 1960).

[99] David L. d'Avray, 'The Comparative Study of Memorial Preaching', *Modern Questions About Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*, eds. Nicole Bériou and David L. d'Avray (Spoleto: 1994), pp. 195-215.

[100] Carlo Delcorno, 'Medieval Preaching in Italy'; Roberto Rusconi, *Predicazione e vita religiosa nella società italiana: da Carlo Magno all controriforma* (Turin: 1981).

[101] Chris Wickham, 'Problems in Doing Comparative History', *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 5-28, p. 6. To some extent this can be argued to have occurred in fifteenth-century sermon studies, due to the immense focus on Bernardino da Siena.

tended to be delivered on certain days, and to what extent the subject matter may have been guided by the liturgical calendar as well as contemporary events, a source of much debate among sermon scholars.[102] Did an exposition of the liturgical theme, whatever it may have been that day, take precedence over overt reference to the current situation in a sermon which had originated out of a contemporary need? And if the two were combined, how was this achieved? A comparative study of preaching in support of the governing authority in Italy is, moreover, a focussed enough subset of sermon studies to provide fruitful results beyond stating that the examples bore both similarities and differences.

Some previous studies of fifteenth-century preaching have drawn strength from a deep focus on one preacher at one point in time and in one particular place (for example, Bernardino da Siena, in Siena, in 1427). However, this has also been one of their greatest limitations, for they make little to no effort at comparison, with conclusions not related to other preaching acts and developments, and thus leaving the question of how the study might fit into a wider scope of fifteenth-century preaching at times unanswered. Other works have attempted a comparison of several preachers in the same city, but because of the particular focus of this study, it appears prudent to assess preaching across a number of towns whose political characteristics markedly differed from one another, in order to uncover similarities and differences in approach, method, and the influence of the governing authority. Thus, the central aspect of this study – preaching in support of the governing authority – ideally lends itself to a comparative approach across place in addition to between individual

[102] d'Avray, 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', p. 9; Jussi Hanska, 'Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching – A Method and Its Limits: An Analysis of Sunday Sermons', *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: 2002), pp. 293-315, pp. 295-296.

preachers. Moreover, the setting of Quattrocento Italy likewise favours a comparative study, as it encompasses a range of political institutions within a relatively limited area, but ones which also shared many social, cultural, and institutional similarities.[103] A range of cross-city-state comparative studies on late medieval Italy, moreover, have been published, in a variety of fields, such as on sumptuary laws and crime and vendetta, especially in the last few decades.[104] This has set ample precedent for a comparative study of late medieval Italian preaching.

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[103] Samuel K. Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*, (London: 1992), p. 4, noted that the city-states of Italy provide, 'an ideal "laboratory" for comparative studies', for these reasons.

[104] On crime, violence, and vendetta, see Lauro Martines, *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200-1500* (Berkeley, CA: 1972); Guido Ruggiero, *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick, NJ: 1980); Edward Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta and Factions in Friuli during the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1993); Robert C. Davis, *The War of the Fists: Popular Culture and Public Violence in Late Renaissance Venice* (New York: 1994); *Crime, Society and the Law in Renaissance Italy*, eds. Trevor Dean & K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge: 1994); Trevor Dean, *Crime and Justice in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge: 2007). On sumptuary laws and marriage, see Diane Owen Hughes, 'Sumptuary Law and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy', *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. John Bossy (Cambridge: 1983), pp. 69-99; *Marriage in Italy: 1300-1650*, eds. Trevor Dean & K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge: 1998); *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy*, eds. Judith C. Brown & Robert C. Davis (London: 1998); Catherine Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy, 1200-1500* (Oxford: 2002); *La legislazione suntuaria: secoli XIII-XVI: Emilia Romagna*, ed. Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli (Rome: 2002); *La legislazione suntuaria: secoli XIII-XVI: Umbria*, ed. M. Grazia Nico Ottaviani (Rome: 2005); *Disciplinare il lusso: la legislazione suntuaria in Italia e in Europa tra Medioevo ed età moderns*, eds. Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli & Antonella Campanini; On sexuality, see Guido Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: 1985); Romano Canosa, *Il velo e il cappuccio: Monacazioni forzate e sessualità nei conventi femminili in Italia tra Quattrocento e Settecento* (Rome: 1991); Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York: 1996).

3. Methodology:

The field of sermon studies can be roughly divided into two types of research method: internal and external. In the former, a detailed analysis of the text is undertaken, dealing with identifying the type of sermon, its theme, its sources, its makeup, the meanings behind particular usage of words, the origins of the *exempla* and other quotations.[105] The latter method focusses the analysis more on the reception of the sermon, the audience make-up, performative aspects, the motivations behind sermon themes, and the wider context of the preaching.[106] The two methods naturally often intertwine, but, in general terms, the internal method's concentration lies in a breakdown of the structure and style of the sermon, and can focus as much on literary qualities as well as actual content, while the external method centres on the elucidation of context, contemporary influence and reception.

This study will combine a thorough analysis of the relevant sermons with a heavy emphasis on the situations which created the need for them and the contexts in which they were delivered, in order to draw conclusions and subsequent comparison of the preachers' intentions and the methods by which these could be communicated. It can be argued that this method allows for sermons to be integrated more effectively into the frameworks of the society which elicited a need for them, and to which these

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[105] See, for instance, Jacqueline Hamesse's investigation into the different words for 'holy' used in sermons – Jacqueline Hamesse, 'The Image of Sanctity in Medieval Preaching as a Means of Sanctification', *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, eds. Beverly Mayne Kienzle et al. (Louvain-la-Neuve: 1996), pp. 127-139; Peter Howard's study of the *Summa Theologica* and Antonino's other sermons also largely takes this format, though he does at times also utilise the external method.

[106] For example, see Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ*, which considers the 'event' of the sermon (selection, location, audience, behaviour and reaction).

sermons were neither extraneous nor solely additional, but an integral part of everyday life.

Sermons will form the key primary evidence, but will be utilised alongside other types of sources, including chronicles, annals, sacristy and convent records, papal bulls, and treatises on subjects such as good governance, in order to build up the contextual picture which the preacher and his sermons inhabited. The administrative records of the cathedral or chapter of a town have been a much underused source in studies of Italian preaching – church sacristy records, in particular, can reveal who preached, when, for how long, how much they were paid, and even what they preached.[107] City records, such as council minutes, can reveal the socio-political context into which the sermons were delivered, as well as offer insight into the relationship between preacher and government.

The first three chapters take the form of individual case studies based on qualitative analysis. Although the sheer mass of extant sermons might appear to lend themselves to quantitative analysis, there are arguments for not doing so. Foremost, many sermons retain individual aspects and contain complex nuances which a quantitative analysis would miss. Furthermore, this study seeks to uncover particular methods employed by the preacher, as well as the motives behind the act on the part of both the preacher and the governing authority (the how and the why), rather than determining solely the what and the when. The interaction between preacher, public, and authority would be difficult to determine from a quantitative analysis.

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[107] Howard, 'The Impact of Preaching', pp. 31-35 employed the sacristy records of San Lorenzo in Florence to reach conclusions on the origin of the preachers, who was involved in the decision to appoint them, and their popularity. The use of sacristy records is better attested in studies of French preaching, as in for instance Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ*, pp. 22-28, who employed them to make conclusions on payments for preaching. Also see Martin, *Le metier du prédicateur*, p. 156.

Chapter One examines the Easter Sunday preaching of the Franciscan Giovanni Coltellini in his hometown of Bologna in 1416 and 1417. This investigates the most well-known aspect of a preacher's cooperative interaction with the ruling body – the preaching of peace and conciliation. Coltellini's appointment came only months after the usurpation of papal rule in Bologna by an unprecedented alliance of factions. The preacher's sermons aimed to keep these disparate and contentious elements united, whilst also lending support to the political and legal reforms already being undertaken by the new governing body. The sermons themselves are notable for their heavy preference for citing classical authorities and for elements of the style of epideictic oratory (usually thought to have been a later, mid-century development in mendicant sermons). The chapter, therefore, also examines the role of humanist and classical influence in sermon structure, and the employment of sacred orators.

Chapter Two focusses on the St Mark feast-day sermon preached in Udine by the Dominican Leonardo Mattei in 1446 (months after the final ratification of Venetian rule in Udine and the Friuli region). It examines the sermon's praise of the excellence of Venetian governance to his Udinese audience. The detailed description of the idealised way in which Venetian government functioned, alongside the virtues to be found within it, is analysed for the ways in which it contributed to the promotion of Venetian-style governance throughout its territories, and the spread of the 'myth of Venice' as an ideal republic. The specific context of Mattei's sermon is integrated into the analysis, illustrating how a respected native preacher was appointed to this station by the Venetian governing authority at a time of much local criticism of the legal, jurisdictional, and administrative confusion brought about by the Venetian conquest of Friuli.

Chapter Three aims to switch attention to the particular reasons for why a mendicant preacher might choose to deliver sermons in support of the secular authority, in addition to investigating the need and use of a sermon in support of the governing authority in a context of political stability, rather than change or crisis. This chapter also takes into consideration the relationship of the preacher's authority with that of the single dominant ruler, a political context markedly different from that of the previous two chapters. The career of the Dominican Tommaso dai Liuti in his native Ferrara is thus examined within this context. A member of the ruling Este court as well as a friar, Tommaso wrote a treatise on good government for the *signore* of Ferrara, Borso d'Este, as well as going on to deliver a sermon on the good State on Palm Sunday in 1460, which raised many of the same issues. The chapter analyses the differing consolatory and admonitory modes of address between the treatise and the sermon (and between the written work, on the one hand, and one intended for public performance, on the other) and the influence of audience on method of delivery. It also places the sermon within the context of Borso's legal reforms, the absorption of the traditional powers of the city council by the ducal administration, and the *signore*'s wish to be associated with the ideal of *Iustitia*. Tommaso's need to retain the favour of the ducal court in his other role as inquisitor-general is also considered within the context of his sermons and other works.

Chapter Four seeks to draw the analysis and conclusions from the preceding chapters into a comparative study of preaching in support of the secular authority. As d'Avray has stated, 'when we critically compare one sermon with another, we enter more fully into the states of mind of the preachers and the publics who created the genres.'[108] Thus, this chapter compares the method of selection and the factors behind

[108] d'Avray, 'The Comparative Study of Memorial Preaching', p. 215.

the appointment of a local or itinerant preacher; the preachers' backgrounds and their prior and later connections to the secular authorities; the type of sermon reserved for preaching in support of the secular authority, and the possible reasons behind this; the general style of the sermon, the similarities and differences in the authorities and examples employed in order to persuade the audience, and the influence of humanist thought and civic oratory upon the sermon structure; the factors of location and audience and their role in the performance of the sermon, as well as religious and civic events before and after its delivery. Finally, the objectives of the three principal actors – preacher, public and public authority – are investigated. The preacher's ideals as a mendicant friar – the salvation of souls, the bringing together of the obedient populace to work for the common good under a secure and just government – are contrasted with the objectives of the secular authority in order to illustrate the potential commonality of aims, if not the ultimate goals.

4. Sources:

Examination of sermons which indicate support for a governing authority will form a pivotal part of this study. Sermons can, however, be a problematic source, and as their study has gathered increased momentum and focus over the last few decades, so the number of methods of approach has multiplied. In these can also be seen the rapid methodological changes which have underpinned sermon studies. For example, Bataillon endorsed structural comparison with the *artes praedicandi* (preaching manuals), while later surveys, such as d'Avray's 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', emphasise the influence of contemporary society and a movement away from scrutiny of language and toward an analysis of the images created in the minds

of the audience.[109] More recently, Beverly Kienzle outlined four methods of analysing a sermon: 'the essential approach captures the essence of the sermon as an oral discourse; the functional deals with the desired effect of the sermon; the historical with its situation in any given historical context; and the formal with the literary and rhetorical features of the sermon.'[110] Naturally, these methods are not mutually distinct and can be employed in concert, though, in general, this study employs the latter three methods of analysis far more than the first (which includes within itself performative aspects). This is essentially due to the characteristics of the sermons being considered – they are not *reportationes* and, aside from a few isolated incidents, are composed entirely in Latin rather than the vernacular in which they were (most likely) originally delivered. Marginal notes or external notices of performance (whether written or pictorial) in relation to these sermons are not available, thus making it very difficult to reimagine convincingly the extra-textual methods which accompanied their delivery beyond the factors of where, when, and to whom. Although some effort will be made to elucidate the style of the sermon – based upon how information is presented and, in certain instances, how the audience is addressed – this will be limited to commentary on the general tone of the sermons. In any case, recovering the oral act of the sermon, including the performative aspects, can be a fraught activity. As Kienzle has pointed out, 'evidence for performance may record more of the interesting and extraordinary than of the typical.'[111] To some extent, the

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[109] L. J. Bataillon, 'Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons', *Leeds Studies in English*, 11 (1980), pp. 19-35, p. 29; d'Avray, 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', pp. 18-26.

[110] Kienzle, 'Introduction', p. 146.

[111] Kienzle, 'Medieval Sermons and their Performance', p. 123. On retrieving the performance of the sermon and its difficulties, see also, Chiara Frugoni, 'L'immagine del predicatore nell'iconografia medioevale', *Dal pulpito alla navata. La predicazione medievale nella sua recezione da parta degli ascoltatori (secc. XIII-XV)*, Medioeve e Rinascimento 3 (1989), pp. 287-99; Roberto Rusconi, 'Trasse

increasing search to recover the preaching act as a live event has once again relegated the actual sermon, in particular those recorded in Latin some time afterwards, to a secondary status as a source. Daniel Lesnick, for instance, has come in for criticism for approaching sermon studies without adequate recourse to the sermons themselves, the main point of contention being an over-reliance on other sources, such as a treatise on preaching, when the sermons themselves were extant.[112] An intention of this study, however, is to treat the sermon as they key source in explaining the preacher's objectives and methods.

Typically, the late medieval sermon was composed in the *sermo modernus* style, beginning with a *thema* (usually a quote from Scripture), with the main body of the sermon divided into *divisiones* and *distinctiones*, divisions and subdivisions which aimed to explain the lesson behind the *thema* from a variety of angles. Traditionally, this involved breaking the *thema* down into individual parts and elucidating each in turn – however, there was variation in how the *thema* was approached in the *divisiones*. Proof of the veracity of the statements made in the *divisiones* was provided by recourse to *auctoritates* (such as Scripture, the Church Fathers, or, increasingly in the Quattrocento, classical authors), *rationes* (explanation by means of logical reasoning), and *exempla* (stories which provided proof of the claim).[113] *Exempla* were wide-ranging, and could be taken from written works, common folklore, or even personal experience, and have merited their own significant sub-category of sermon

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la storia per farne la tavola: Immagini di predicatori degli ordini mendicanti nei secoli XIII e XIV', *La predicazione dei frati dalla meta del'200 alla fine del'300* (Spoleto: 1995), pp. 407-50; idem., 'La pouvoir de la parole: representation des predicateurs dans l'art de la Renaissance en Italie', *La Parole du predicateur Ve-XVe siècle*, eds. R. M. Dessi & M. Lauwers (Nice: 1997), pp. 445-456; Thompson, 'From Texts to Preaching', pp. 33-35.

[112] For example, see Jussi Hanska's criticism of Daniel Lesnick's work on Franciscan and Dominican preaching, in *"And the Rich Man also Died"*, p. 139.

[113] Delcorno, 'Medieval Preaching in Italy', pp. 470-471.

studies. In the Quattrocento, however, the *sermo modernus* was imbued increasingly with elements taken from classical oratory. As will be seen most vividly in the sermons of Coltellini, this process did not have to be a replacement of one method of oratory by another, but rather an absorption of new elements within a traditional structure.

Although as a body of sources, the number of surviving medieval sermons is vast, individually many preachers have left us with only one or a handful of sermons, undoubtedly only a small part of their lifetime's output (as, for instance, with Giovanni Coltellini). However, the study of sermons and preaching activity has expanded to a point where it can continue to prove exceptionally profitable when even a minimal amount of a preacher's output is extant, perhaps especially when the focus is on a particular aspect of the preaching activity. Through analysis of other sources related to the preaching event or which fill out information on the preacher himself, a plausible reconstruction can be made of the context within which he operated, and the place of the surviving sermons within the preacher's career as a whole. Studies such as those of Roberto Rusconi on Manfredi da Vercelli, a fifteenth-century apocalyptic preacher, and Augustine Thompson's on the Great Devotion, have shown the extent to which other sources, from chronicles, saints' lives, and letters, to statutes, other contemporary sermons, church records and papal bulls can be incorporated into studies of preaching even where no sermons whatsoever remain.[114] The great variety of sources which hold information on a preacher and his activity also serve to demonstrate the extent to which preaching permeated late medieval Italian urban life.

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[114] Thompson, *Revival Preachers*; Roberto Rusconi, 'Fonti e Documenti su Manfredi da Vercelli O.P. ed il suo movimento penitenziale', *AFH*, 47 (1977), pp.51-69 ; idem., 'Note sulla predicazione di Manfredi da Vercelli O.P. e il movimento penitenziale di terziari manfredini', *AFH*, 48 (1978), pp. 93-134.

Narrative sources, in particular, have often been turned to for more information on a preacher's actions and subsequent reactions, and their importance as evidence for preaching has frequently been stressed.[115]

The sermon is, in some respects, a difficult source to interpret. Most obviously, the sermon was an oral event, not a written one. This makes the surviving source a second-hand (or even third-hand or more), incomplete version of the original act, sometimes recorded years after the event. In the translation from live speech to words on a page, something is inevitably lost. This is perhaps even more true for sermons transcribed into Latin though they were delivered in the vernacular. Whether deliberately or accidentally, parts may be changed, revised, tidied up, and nuances unavoidably lost in translation. Latin versions, especially, also do not tend to contain elements such as audience reaction or recording of other spontaneous events. It is in order to overcome some of these obstacles that since the 1990s many historians have turned to *reportationes* and vernacular sermons. The unparalleled wealth of surviving Parisian manuscripts, for example, has allowed for comparison between reported, autograph, and published sermons and thus has gone some way to establishing the changes a sermon underwent in its journey from oral event to text.[116] Nevertheless, even fully annotated *reportationes* do not represent the live sermon as it was, but a particular listener's viewpoint and response to that sermon.[117] External corroborative evidence can help, but cannot wholly overcome the problem. Internal evidence within

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[115] For example, M. A. Sanchez, 'Vernacular Preaching in Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan', *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout: 2000), pp. 759-858, pp. 759-760.

[116] See especially Bériou, *L'Avènement des maîtres de la parole*.

[117] Polecritti's study of Bernardino's preaching in Siena in 1427, for instance, sometimes approached the *reportatio* as a transparent source, without taking into account the scrupulousness and interests of the recorder. However, when the use of the *reportatio* was supported by other sources, such as advice literature on coping with feud and vendetta, the arguments appear much stronger (for example, Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, p. 146).

the sermon itself, or from others within the same collection, to an extent can give clues to the text's relation to its original form. For instance, if the text still contains elements of local or contemporary relevance to the time when it was preached, that may be taken as evidence that it was not greatly altered or recorded simply in order to provide a model sermon. Furthermore, not only must the validity of the words of the sermon as they were written down be questioned, but often the make-up of the audience to which it was delivered can be shrouded in mystery. With the exception of *ad status* sermons (sermons designed with a specific audience in mind, such as women or merchants, or as with Coltellini's sermons, the elite governing class), historians must often hope for incidental internal evidence in order to assess the probable shape of the audience.[118] This issue also once again raises the importance of employing corroborative evidence, if available, to help fill in the gaps left by the sermon's written version.

Four sermons are analysed in detail within this study – two by Coltellini, and one each from Mattei and Liuti. Coltellini's sermons, delivered on Easter Sundays in 1416 and 1417 in the church of San Petronio in Bologna, are found within a manuscript collection of fifteenth-century orations held at the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence.[119] These sermons focus on the themes of peace and unity, and, although they display a traditional, scholastic, thematic structure, they also evince the preacher's comfort with employing classical sources, humanist tropes, and works of political theory in order to relate his subject matter. Moreover, despite their fairly

[118] See Carolyn Muessig, 'Audience and Preacher: "Ad Status" Sermons and Social Classification', *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: 2002), pp. 255-276.

[119] Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 784.

short length, they are filled with a great number of details, quotes, and examples taken from ecclesiastical and classical sources. These sermons, together with a later oration found within the same collection, are the only known extant works by Coltellini.

The sermon by Leonardo Mattei was delivered in the church of San Pietro Martire in Udine on the feast-day of St Mark in 1446. It is part of the *Sermones aurei de sanctis*, a collection of forty-five feast-day sermons which were delivered by Mattei in Udine that year. The cycle survives in several manuscript copies, including one held at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, in addition to many early printed editions. The printed edition referred to in this study was produced in Venice in 1473, and the sermon to St Mark within it appears identical to the Florence manuscript copy.[120] This sermon is the longest of those dealt with within this study and is, moreover, one of the longest within Mattei's collection.

Finally, Liuti's sermon on the state was delivered in the cathedral in Ferrara on Palm Sunday in 1460, part of the preacher's Lenten sermon cycle of that year. The cycle survives in two manuscript copies (both from around 1466), one of which is held at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, as well as in a printed edition produced in Cologne in 1474 (under the name of Thomasinus de Ferraria), a copy of which is held at the British Library.[121] Several of the sermons do show minor differences between the manuscript and the printed edition, although the Palm Sunday sermon itself appears identical. The major difference is the omission in the printed edition of the final two sermons of the cycle, for reasons unknown. Both the Palm Sunday

[120] The MS is Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS A. 8. 1159. The manuscript is fifteenth-century, but it is uncertain whether it predates the printed edition or not. The printed edition is London, British Library, IB. 5754, Leonardus Matthaei de Utino, 'Sermones aurei de sanctis fratris Leonardi de Utino sacre theologie doctore ordinis predicato'.

[121] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS D. 6. 1460; London, British Library, IB. 3468, Thomasinus de Ferraria, 'Sermones quadragesimales'.

sermon and other sermons within the cycle contain details and stories of local origin and relevance, suggesting that they have not undergone major revision in order to make them more suitable as standard, easily transferable, model sermons.

As mentioned earlier, many types of sources can provide complementary evidence to the study of preaching. The main complementary sources which this study employs are the sacristy records of San Francesco in Bologna, San Pietro Martire in Udine, and those of Ferrara cathedral. These records have preserved the incomings and outgoings of these institutions, and, in the former two, the purchases and earnings of their friars, comprising a body of much underexploited sources. These are used to corroborate the preaching dates and remits, and in some cases reveal how much they were paid and/or other information about the preachers.

Another body of sources utilised here are the extant chronicles and diaries from Bologna and Ferrara, which not only assist in framing the socio-political context of the sermon, but in some instances also give details relating to the preachers themselves. Udine is, by comparison, far less rich in narrative sources. However, the town's annals and council minutes survive, which together significantly contribute to an understanding of the relationship between Mattei and local government.

The final major complementary source utilised is a treatise on good government (*Trattato del modo di ben governare*) written by Tommaso dai Liuti for the *signore* of Ferrara, Borso d'Este. Bearing a strong resemblance to the friar's later sermon on the state, it provides a valuable comparison in addition to shedding further light on some of Tommaso' potential motivations in preaching this particular sermon. Moreover, it demonstrates the friar's adaptation of a subject to suit his audience and context.

Chapter 1

"Peace be upon you"

Striving for Peace and Unity in Bologna, 1416-1417

The analysis of preaching in this chapter deals with the intervention of a preacher in the internal politics of the city of Bologna in support of the ruling body. It will largely focus on two sermons of the local Franciscan preacher Giovanni Coltellini da Bologna (c.1355-1437), delivered on Easter Sunday in 1416 and 1417, to an audience of the city's elite. It will examine how these sermons set out to bolster support for the ruling authority and promote the current regime, as well as what these sermons might reveal regarding the developing links between classical rhetoric, humanist thought, and mendicant preaching.

The sermons of 1416 and 1417 might be considered one of the most typical forms of sermon associated with support of the governing authority, in that they both initially appear to fall into the category of a peace sermon. The preaching of peace in late medieval Italy has previously been explored by scholars such as Rosa Maria Dessì and Cynthia Polecritti, amongst others, and has been shown to act as a call for an end to civic disruption and for the preservation of the current authority, though it has rarely been studied from the viewpoint of its instigation by that current governing authority.[1] Rather, it has been approached either as peacemaking turned into a profession by the most popular preachers, or as a process of the assertion of order and control over the urban community – but a process which only inadvertantly benefitted

[1] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*; Dessì, 'Pratiche della parola di pace'; Such a relationship has been hinted at by Peter Howard, 'The Politics of Devotion'. The collection of articles found in the second part of *Pace e guerra nel basso Medioevo* are also particularly relevant to peace preaching in late medieval Italy.

the governing authority. Of Coltellini's surviving work, only the sermon of 1416 has previously been examined, by Rita Cosma in 2007, who concluded that it followed the standard Franciscan message of peace, with little contemporary relevance.[2] Yet, closer inspection of Coltellini's sermons, and the preacher himself, within the political context of the delivery, exposes the important link between preacher and public authority in a time of turmoil. In particular, the second sermon reveals subtle alterations which belie identification as a typical peace sermon, and which allowed the preacher to address issues of significant bearing on his audience and the contemporary context.

1. Giovanni Coltellini da Bologna:

Giovanni Coltellini was, at various points in his life, a guardian of the convent of San Francesco; a copyist; a highly-respected master and teacher of theology at Bologna's university; an orator both at funerals for members of the Bolognese nobility and grand events such as the entry of an emperor into the city; provincial prior for the district of Bologna; a member of the assembly which elected Pietro di Candia as Pope Alexander V at the Council of Pisa; an elected, though (probably) not consecrated bishop; and, of course, an eminent preacher.[3]

The surviving testament of his father Giorgio Coltellini, a Bolognese merchant, dated 5 September 1396, affords an insight into the friar's personal and familial

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[2] Rita Cosma, 'Giovanni Coltellini: Il sermone pasquale sulla pace (1416)', *Francescani e la politica: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di studio: Palermo*, *3-7 dicembre 2002*, ed. Alessandro Musco (Palermo: 2007), pp. 161-173, at p. 168.

[3] Much of the following biographical information can be found in a condensed form in Alfred A. Strnad & Katherine Walsh, 'Coltellini (de Cultellinis, de Bononia), Giovanni', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 27 (Rome: 1982), pp. 485-487.

background. From this will and Coltellini's academic progression it becomes possible to date his birth to sometime between 1355 and 1360.[4] Giorgio's will is, however, most important in the present context for the hints it provides of the existence of a strong relationship between the family and the Franciscan Order (and particularly the Conventuals of San Francesco, where Giovanni Coltellini resided). As well as moneys left to San Francesco, Giorgio's brother Giacomo (Giovanni's uncle), is identifed as a trustee and as guardian of the Franciscan convent.[5] Furthermore, it was also at San Francesco that Giovanni's mother Bilda was buried on 19 September 1389, as was his father Giorgio upon his own death.[6]

Coltellini attended the Franciscan general chapter in Mantua in 1390 as a bachelor of theology, and he gained his first public position in 1392, having been appointed along with several others by the bishop of Bologna as confessor for the jubilee indulgence bequeathed to Bologna by Pope Boniface IX.[7] Another office was held by Coltellini a few years later, in 1399, when a bull of Boniface IX names 'Ioannes de Pogiali de Bononia' as an inquisitor. The bull itself concerns a Jew of the town of

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[4] Strnad & Walsh, 'Coltellini, Giovanni', p. 485 first suggested this approximate dating for Coltellini's birth. In the surviving records, mention of Coltellini takes the form of variations of 'Ioannes de Cultellinis,' 'Ioannes de Bononia,' 'Ioannes Georgii' (his father's name), and 'Ioannes de Pocale' (after the district of Bologna where his family home was located – this last used in his father's will (Bologna, Archivio di Stato, *San Francesco*, (henceforth ASB, *S. Francesco*), 104/4236, n. 34).

[5] ASB, *S. Francesco*, 104/4236, n. 34 – *Iacobum eiusdem testatoris fratrem et filium q. ser Laurentii de Cultellinis, et guardianum fr. Min. conventus Bononie*.

[6] Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio (henceforth BCA), cod. B. 491, *Libri giornali di entrata e spesa del convento dei Frati Minori Conventuali di S. Francesco di Bologna*, II, 148.

[7] On attendance at the Mantua general chapter, see Cesare Cenci, 'Fra Francesco da Lendinara e la storia della Provincia di S. Antonio tra la fine del s. XIV e l'inizio del s. XV', *AFH*, 60 (1967), pp. 103-192, at p. 118; 'Cronaca A', 'Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium', ed. Albano Sorbelli, *RIS*, n.s., XVIII.i.3 (Città di Castello: 1921), pp. 3-576, at p. 445: *Infrascripti eno li penetenzieri elletti per lo vescovo de Bologna: lo vescovo della Mascharella, maestro Michele dal Charmino, fra' Andalo' da Sam Martino; de sante Francesco: fra' Zohanne dal Fem, fra' Zohanne da li Choltelini, fra' Zohanne de Pelachani*.

Rimini, Salomon, who had been charged with attempts to seduce several Christian women, but had been acquitted by Coltellini.[8]

There is evidence that Coltellini had established some notable relationships and a learned reputation early in his career. In his will of 8 November 1396, the eminent doctor of medicine and teacher at the university Giacomo *de Armis* gave Coltellini responsibility for the distribution and administration of his medical books upon his death, with the specific purpose of assisting the poorer students of San Francesco. To the friar himself, Giacomo bestowed a small gold painting of the Virgin Mary.[9]

By 1403, Coltellini was an examiner at the university, and was responsible for awarding licenses to such individuals as the Augustinian Gabriele Garofali da Spoleto, who would later go on to make a mark as a fervent opponent of the 'IHS' movement of Coltellini's fellow Franciscan, Bernardino da Siena.[10] Coltellini was also present at the awarding of doctorates to two Dominicans, in 1414 and 1420, demonstrating his continued presence and responsibilities at the university.[11]

Coltellini's employment as an orator was first recorded on 15 September 1401, by the contemporary Bolognese chronicler Pietro di Mattiolo, who wrote of the death of

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[8] Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, cod. lat. 317, V-1, p. 399 (This is a copy of a bull from the register of Boniface IX).

[9] ASB, *S. Francesco*, G, n. 76 – *reliquit et mandavit…omnes libri scientie medicine ipsius testatoris in cartis et seu membranis scripti et tam textuales quam commentales ponantur et catenentur in domibus, armario seu libraria conventus ecclesie S. Francisci fr. Min. Bononie, modo et forma disponendi per prefatum mag. Ioannem Georgii ord. fr. Min., et prout eidem videbitur et placuerit pro utilitate et comodo pauperum studentium dicti ordinis in dicto conventu Bononie…Item reliquit eidem mag. Ioanni Georgii unam anconellam sive tabulitam ipsius testatoris, pictam in auro fino, in qua est figura b. Marie Virginis.*

[10] Celestino Piana, 'La Facoltà teologica dell'Università di Bologna nel 1444-1458', *AFH*, 53 (1960), pp. 361-441, at pp. 435-437.

[11] idem., *Ricerche su le università di Bologna e di Parma nel secolo XV* (Florence: 1963), pp. 299-300, 303.

the famous jurist and university professor Francesco Ramponi. According to Mattiolo, the *podestà* of the city, the archbishop of Ravenna, and a multitude of others turned out in honour of Ramponi at his funeral, including all the noteworthy citizens of Bologna, whether nobility, professors of the university, or literary alumni. To this audience Coltellini delivered a 'beautiful and most solemn' oration in honour of the deceased.[12] Coltellini also gave one other known funerary oration, on the death of another jurist and notable citizen of Bologna, Bente Bentivoglio, on 31 July 1407. Whilst Ramponi's subsequent burial at San Francesco might help to explain the choice of Coltellini as funerary orator, Bente Bentivoglio's body was carried instead to the Augustinian church of San Giacomo Maggiore.[13] It was at San Giacomo that Coltellini delivered his oration, suggesting that his selection as orator had, in this instance, little to do with the burial location or the Order which carried out the funeral.

It is possible, then, to envisage a further advancement in the reputation of Coltellini's oratory in the years between these two eulogies. Giovanni Garzoni, a late fifteenth-century Bolognese writer, remarked that Coltellini had delivered many funeral eulogies in his lifetime, strongly suggesting that the above evidence reveals only a small part of Coltellini's activity in this field.[14]

Other extant sources demonstrate that Coltellini was no stranger to the interplay between secular affairs and spiritual concerns, well before his delivery of the Lenten sermons in 1416 and 1417. In 1401, he ended up on the losing end of a dispute over the provincial priorate of Bologna. A papal bull of Boniface IX describes his attempt

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[12] Pietro di Mattiolo, 'Cronaca bolognese', ed. Corrado Ricci, *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare dal secolo XIII al XVII*, CCII (Bologna: 1885), pp. 1-406, at pp. 88-90.

[13] ibid., pp. 196-197.

[14] Giovanni Garzoni, 'De dignitate urbis Bononie', *RIS,* XXI (Milan: 1732), 1165 – *Iohannes Cultellinis Francisco…exstant permultae ipsius laudationes funebres*.

to gain this position, while three extant letters from Francesco Gonzaga, *signore* of Mantua, reveal the latter's hand in blocking the appointment in favour of the existing holder of the office, Bernardo da Carpi. The *signore*'s letter to Boniface specifically mentions Coltellini, explaining that just as Bernardo da Carpi was about to take up the post, Coltellini had claimed that he was to become prior for the province. This news, according to Gonzaga, resulted in the whole province descending into disturbance and discords.[15] Bernardo da Carpi was duly confirmed as provincial prior, and Coltellini had to wait some four years, until 1405, before finally attaining the position.[16]

Coltellini's next brush with politics came at the Council of Pisa in 1409, at which he was to play an important role, and which also appears to have gone some way to cementing his burgeoning reputation as a fine orator and skilful mediator. The friar was part of the consultation group which made the decision to depose the rivals Benedict XIII and Gregory XII, and elect a new pope, Alexander V.[17] Further

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[15] See Cesare Cenci, 'I Gonzaga e i frati minori dal 1365 al 1430', *AFH*, 58 (1965), pp. 201-279, at pp. 224-225.

[16] There is some dispute about when Coltellini attained the position: Giacinto Picconi, *Serie cronologico-biografica dei ministri e vicari della Minoritica Provincia di Bologna* (Parma: 1908), p. 95, claimed Coltellini became provincial prior in 1405; Domenico Sparacio, *Series ministrorum provincialium qui per antiquam Bononiae provinciam Ordinis Minorum Conventulium inde ab initio administrarunt* (Rome: 1925), p. 13, gave 1403 as the date, whilst he also mentions that Giovanni Giacinto Sbaraglia settled on 1402. In any case, Coltellini is named as, *magister Ioannes Georgii de Bononia minister provincialis Bononiae*, on 17 December 1408 (Celestino Piana, 'Lo Studio di S. Francesco a Ferrara nel Quattrocento: Documenti inediti', *AFH*, 61 (1968), pp. 99-175, at p. 156). He is also referred to as, *sacre theologie magistro ordinum fratrum Minorum et ministro provincie Bononie*, when named as a witness to a will being handed over to the friars of San Francesco on 13 February 1409 (ASB, *San Francesco*, G, n.14). It is interesting to note that Bernardo da Carpi is also named as present in this document – Piana hypothesised that the two may have reconciled. A third bull dated to 1414, and again issued by Gregory XII, confirms that a Filippo da Assisi was to become the new provincial prior for Bologna (Giovanni Giacinto Sbaraglia & Conrad Eubel, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, VII (Rome: 1904), p. 210, n. 561).

[17] Giovanni Domenico Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, XXVII (Venice: 1784), c. 336 – *Magister Joannes Georgii ordinis Minorum provinciae Bononiensis minister* is listed as

evidence of Coltellini's attendance at the Council of Pisa suggests that his tenure as provincial prior was not trouble-free. In almost his first official act, on the same day as his coronation on July 7, 1409, Alexander V restored Coltellini as the Bologna provincial prior. According to the bull which sanctioned this act, Coltellini had been ousted, unfairly, from the position less than a year earlier by Pope Gregory XII, possibly due to his disinclination to support this pope.[18] Alexander's ruling also notably commended Coltellini for his past attempts at bringing about peace and union within the Church.[19]

The period of some five years after the Council of Pisa is possibly the most confusing period of Coltellini's life and career. On 19 September 1414, a papal bull was issued by Pope John XXIII conferring the bishopric of Civita Castellana upon Coltellini following the death of its previous incumbent.[20] Eubel listed him among the bishops of Civita Castellana, holding this office until his death in 1432.[21] However, other sources unearthed by later scholars suggest that Coltellini never ventured to

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attending the Council; Coltellini is again listed among the group which decided upon electing Pietro di Candia as Pope Alexander V (ibid., c. 401). Coltellini's preference for Alexander V might even be suggested by a much earlier event. In 1382, during his early years within the Order, Coltellini is known to have made a copy of the first book of *Sententiae* of Pietro di Candia, now preserved at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. See Joseph Valentinelli, *Bibliotecha manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum Codices Mss. Latini*, II (Venice: 1869), p. 70. The explicit reads: *Expliciunt questiones super primo sententiarum per venerabilem magistrum Petrum de Candia ordinis Minorum in lectura parisiensi disputatione recitatae, completae scribi Bononiae per fratrem Ioannem Georgium de Bononia, ordinis Minorum, in die gloriosi militis sancti Georgii 1382*.

[18] BF VII, p. 410, n. 1173; This is backed up by an earlier bull of Pope Gregory XII, dated April 1407, which calls for nominations for a new minister of the Bologna province (BF VII, p. 196-197, n. 523).

[19] ibid., p. 410, n. 1173 – *negotium pacis et unionis universalis ecclesiae assumpseras et prosequi curaveras*…

[20] ibid., p. 485, n. 1344.

[21] Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, I (Münster: 1913), p. 190; Wadding had also listed Coltellini as bishop of Civita Castellana (Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum*, IX (Florence: 1932), p. 454.

Civita Castellana, nor was ever consecrated as bishop.[22] Indeed, when Coltellini came to deliver the Lenten sermons in 1416, only two years after his supposed appointment to a bishopric, he was referred to simply as a Franciscan and a professor of theology.[23] The question remains as to why Coltellini apparently never became a bishop. It is probable that either the friar rejected the proposal, or John XXIII rescinded it before any consecration could take place.[24] If the former, can any reasons be hypothesised as to why the friar may have refused the appointment? It is interesting to draw a parallel here with the later actions of Bernardino da Siena, who refused the offer of a bishopric, as he stated in Siena in 1427, because he did not want to be tied to one city, and wished instead to remain free to continue travelling and preaching across Italy.[25] It can be conjectured that, if Coltellini had refused the appointment, he did so, if not out of a sense of humility, then on the basis that his links to his convent and to the city of Bologna proved too strong for him to be induced to move away – in some ways the opposite motivations to those which prompted Bernardino to refuse his own bishopric. A strong link to and identification with the city and populace of Bologna could have played a part in his selection as Lenten preacher for the crucial years of 1416 and 1417, as will be argued below.

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[22] See Celestino Piana, 'Supplementum ad "Bullarium franciscanum" ex quodam opere inedito I. H. Sbaralea restituendo', *Franciscan Studies*, 15, no. 2 (June, 1955), pp. 123-145, at pp. 136-137. And nor did Coltellini die in 1432. Payment for his burial at San Francesco is recorded on 12 October 1437 (BCA, *Libri giornali*, II, 282).

[23] Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS Riccardiana 784 (henceforth Ricc. 784), f. 158v – The explicit to Coltellini's 1416 Easter Sunday sermon states that it was composed and recited by: *magistrum Iohannem de Cultellinis de Bononia, ordinis Minorum, sacre Theologie professorem*; See also Francesco Filippini, *S. Petronio vescovo di Bologna. Storia e leggenda con 25 illustrazioni* (Bologna: 1948), p. 125.

[24] As Piana, 'Supplementum ad "Bullarium Francescanum"', p. 137, had suggested.

[25] Bernardino da Siena, 'Prediche volgari', I, p. 525; Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 31; Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, p. 23 notes that a common motif in depictions of Bernardino da Siena was the presence of three discarded bishops' mitres at his feet.

Although Coltellini was described as suffering from infirmities which came with old age in a bull dated 1 September 1419, the friar must have sufficiently recovered from his ailments – at least periodically – as he continued to crop up in the historical record for the next eighteen years.[26] In 1427 he was listed as guardian of the San Francesco convent.[27] Two years later, on 11 June 1429, the preacher was paid one *soldo* for a sermon he delivered, demonstrating his continued activity in this field.[28] It is quite possible that Coltellini continued to be far more active in public life than these records suggest, for it appears that in 1433 the friar was bestowed the duty of delivering an oration to the Emperor Sigismund upon the latter's entry into Bologna. Moreover, Coltellini was given the title of *orator communitatis* – a palpable clue to his stature within the city in his later years.[29]

In the second half of the fifteenth century, Giovanni Coltellini was remembered by the Bolognese Giovanni Garzoni as, 'well-deserving [of praise] with regards to theology, poetry, oratory, and philosophy. He created his own literary inventions with excellence and many of his funeral eulogies are extant.'[30] Thus, a picture is painted of a friar involved throughout much of his life in public affairs, both secular and ecclesiastical, and of a man very much tied to his hometown. The praise of his funeral

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[26] Piana, 'Supplementum ad "Bullarium franciscanum", pp. 136-137 – *ipse Ioannes, qui senio deditus et infirmitatum diversarum, prementibus incommodis corporis, virium destitutione laborat…*

[27] ASB, *San Francesco*, K, n. 32 – '*guardiano*'; BCA, *Libri giornali*, II, 223 (dated October, 1427) – *Ego frater. Ioannes Georgii, sacrae paginae professor, factus fui guardianus conventus Bononiae in capitulo provinciali celebrato in festo Sancti Francisci in conventu Ferrariae*.

[28] BCA, *Libri giornali*, II, 267.

[29] Ricc. 784, ff. 236r-237v. Incipit: *Ad dominum Gismundum Romanorum Imperatorem per oratorem communitatis Bononie congratulando eius adsumptionem ad Imperialem celsitudinem*.

[30] Garzoni, 'De dignitate urbis Bononie', 1165 – *Iohannes Cultellinis Francisco dicatus, cum de Theologia, Poesi, Oratoria, Philosophia benemeritus esset, inventiones suas literis cum dignitate mandavit.*

eulogies and his mediation at the Council of Pisa demonstrate a growing appreciation of his oratorical abilities, as was then made clear by his appointment as Lenten preacher for two consecutive years in 1416 and 1417.

Unfortunately, only the final sermons from each of these years survives, contained within a fifteenth-century manuscript collection of orations – many pertaining to Bologna – now housed at the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence. The orations were copied by diverse hands, and the entire codex appears to have been put together out of various, originally separate manuscripts, with the individual works being inserted in a roughly chronological order.[31] Coltellini's 1417 Easter Sunday sermon directly follows on from the 1416 sermon, but the works appear to have been copied by two different hands. Also contained within the collection is the preacher's speech for Emperor Sigismund's entry into Bologna, placed much later into the manuscript due to the gap in time between it and the sermons. Despite their fairly short length, these works are filled with a great number of details, quotes, and examples taken from ecclesiastical and classical sources, and represent the only known surviving works of Coltellini.

2. The 'Peace' Sermon of 1416:

The first surviving sermon of Giovanni Coltellini was delivered on 19 April 1416. As the Easter Sunday sermon, it marked the culmination of Coltellini's Lenten cycle, which he had presumably been giving for the past six weeks. Lent was considered the most important time for preaching, and the selection of a preacher was a competitive

[31] Athanasius Lopez, 'Descriptio codicum franciscanorum Bibliothecae Riccardianae Florentinae (*Continuatio* – Part 3),' *AFH* 3 (1910), pp. 333-340, 551-558, 739-748, at pp. 339-340.

business, as towns vied with each other for the best speakers.[32] The sacristy records of the basilica of San Petronio record that Coltellini was paid ten lire for his preaching in this year.[33] This may not have been a significant sum, but the location of the sermon, the symbolically and politically significant church of San Petronio, and the composition of the audience – the governors and other leading citizens of Bologna – both point to Coltellini having been appointed the main Lenten preacher for that year. The 1416 sermon title – *Sermo ad regimina civitatis Bononie in die Pasce* – reveals the composition of the audience, as do the various deferential references to the audience within the sermon itself.[34] Due to the importance of Lent in the preaching calendar, even if Coltellini was not a well-known personality outside Bologna, it can be assumed that within the town itself he had built up a solid reputation, or was considered to have qualities suitable for the task.

Easter Sunday sermons focussed on celebrating the resurrection of Christ. They could be used to explain the resurrection, the events, visions and prophecies leading up to it, and the messages and significance behind these. Central themes tended to be elaborated from this event, such as humility; the superiority of spiritual concerns over the temporal; the final proof of Christ's divinity and salvation through Him; and goodwill and peace.[35] Coltellini chose to deliver a sermon on this latter topic based on the theme 'peace be upon you', taken from John 20:19. The preacher exhorted his listeners to follow the example set by Christ, who, 'on this day…triumphantly rising

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[32] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, pp. 12-13

[33] Bologna, Archivio di San Petronio, Armario II, n. 57, p. 27; Filippini, *S. Petronio vescovo*, p. 125.

[34] Ricc. 784, f. 157r.

[35] For instance, see the Easter Sunday sermon of Antonio da Padua, *Sermones Dominicales et Festivi*, eds. Beniamino Costa, Leonardo Frasson, & Ioanne Luisetto, 3 vols. (Padua: 1979), I, pp. 205-227. Also Giacomo della Marca, *Sermones Dominicales*, 3 vols. (Ancona: 1978), II, pp. 107-119; St Bonaventura, *Sermones Dominicales* (Grottaferrata: 1977), pp. 280-289.

from his death, greeted his disciples with these sweet words: Peace be upon you.'[36] He continued by expounding upon the advantages that peace brought, both personally and to the commonwealth, the need for unity, and the dangers of disorder. Above all, Coltellini advised that, 'all should exert themselves towards a common usefulness.'[37] The second half of the sermon was primarily devoted to describing, using classical authorities, the proper forms of republics and just governments. Presumably, the makeup of his audience was firmly at the forefront of Coltellini's thinking when composing this latter half of the sermon, which was evidently intended to advise them. The sermon concludes with an encouragement to these, 'most excellent citizens', to model themselves on the ancient Romans, and to establish peace and concord:

> For all those who have in any way conduced to the preservation, defence, and enlargement of their native country, there is [for them] ordained a place where they shall enjoy an eternity of happiness![38]

Thus, Coltellini's 1416 Easter Sunday sermon appears to be a representative example of the peace sermon. It was not uncommon for preachers to be appointed specifically to deliver peace sermons, especially in the face of threats (either external or internal) to the stability of the city. It is important to note that such sermons generally were not stand-alone affairs. Rather, the preachers who gave them would frequently also take a leading role in the ceremonies, processions, and reconciliations

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[36] Ricc. 784, f. 157r – *Salvatoris nostri de morte hodie triumphaliter resurgentis ad discipulos suos salutationis meliflue hec verba fuerunt*: *Pax vobis.*

[37] ibid., f. 157v – *omnes utilitatem communem intendant*.

[38] ibid., f. 158v – *cives prestantissimi… certi quod omnibus qui patriam conservaverint adiuverint, auxerint diffinitum esse locum ubi beati sempiterno evo fruantur*. Compare Cicero, *De re publica*, VI.xiii.13 (*qui patriam conservaverint, adiuverint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruantur*).

which were habitually initiated as a response to the same events that instigated the need for a peace sermon.[39] While these peacemakings appear to have held symbolic importance in announcing the end of a particular phase of a feud, the actual extent of their influence was often negligible. In a local example, the Bolognese Battista Canetoli and Bartolomeo Zambeccari reconciled publicly on March 17, 1432, only for Canetoli to once again take to the streets with his armed supporters against his old foe just five months later.[40] The actual processes of peacemaking were rarely recorded, and often the 'spontaneous' nature of the peacemaking was emphasised. In reality, however, they were carefully staged public events, founded either on lengthy prior mediation or even governmental intervention.[41] There is some evidence of related initiatives taking place around the same time as Coltellini's sermon, including legislative reforms and the return of exiles, which are discussed in more detail below.

In order to analyse this sermon (or any sermon) appropriately, however, it is necessary to explore the contemporary context within which it was delivered. It is this background which helps to give a clearer explanation for the perceived need for, and the appropriate nature of, the sermon content and its focus on peace, as well as suggesting intentions beyond the message of peace being a condition pleasing to God.

On 5 January 1416, a revolt against papal governance had occurred in Bologna. With Pope John XXIII imprisoned by the Council of Constance, Bologna had risen against its papal governor Antonio Casini, the Bishop of Siena, and established a new

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[39] On peace sermons and peacemakings, see, for instance Polecritti, *Preaching Peace,* pp. 85-123; Dessì, 'Pratiche della parola di pace', pp. 271-312.

[40] 'Cronaca A', p. 57.

[41] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, pp. 87, 96-97.

government.[42] Intriguingly, and crucially for this endeavour, the Bentivoleschi and other major factions, such as the Malvezzi and Canetoli, came to a rare alliance and, arming themselves and their supporters, marched against the papal governor shouting, *viva lo puovolo e le arti*.[43] Despite this call, the new government was to be composed of patrician elites. Sixteen governors, the *Sedici Riformatori*, were endowed with political authority, and the popular Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio became the political figurehead.[44] Among the duties which now fell to the newly-installed *Sedici Riformatori* came the task of appointing the Lenten preacher for that year, and for which they selected Coltellini.[45]

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[42] 'Cronaca A/Cronaca B', pp. 552-553.

[43] Girolamo Albertuccio de' Borselli, 'Cronica gestorum ac factorum memorabilium civitatis Bononie', ed. Albano Sorbelli, *R.I.S.*, n.s., XXIII, pt. 2 (Città di Castello: 1912), p. 73, names the various factions which took part; Also Mattiolo, 'Cronaca bolognese', p. 270-272 - *MCCCCXVI una domenega mattina che fo adì V del mexe de genaro, siando uno vescovo de Siena luogo tenente e signore de bollogna per lo papa zoanne XXIII overo per la sancta madre ghiexia se levò uno gram Remore im la citade de bollogna, sonando tutta fiada la campana da l arengo a stormo, e subsequentemente la campana da la torre de gli axenegli e quella de sam stevano, e de sam Iacomo, Al quale remore trasse in piaza molta gente de puovolo armada, e de multi chaxali per intrare in lo pallazo grande de piaza, E non possando bene intrare per la porta denanci per la gran defexa che feva quigli dentro Alchuni e assai andono de driedo dal ditto pallazo, e roppeno lo muro per forza con manare, e com pichuni, e introno dentro a forore, e depoxeno lo dito signore e la soa brigada, E si l menono im stra sam donado, in chaxa de misser Antonio figliolo che fo de zoanne di bentevogli. senza essergli fatto alchuno despiaxere, E incontinenti ogn omo cridando* viva lo puovolo e le arti *fo fatto nove signuri anciani, e sedexe confalonieri como è l uxanza a signoria de puovolo*…

[44] Albano Sorbelli, *I Bentivoglio, signori di Bologna*, ed. Marsilio Bacci (Bologna: 1987), p. 33; See also Angela De Benedictis, 'Lo "stato popolare di libertà": Pratica di governo e cultura di governo (1376-1506)', *Storia di Bologna 2: Bologna nel Medioevo*, ed. Ovidio Capitani (Bologna: 2007), pp. 899-950, at pp. 908-909; Peter Partner, *The Papal State Under Martin V: The Administration and Government of the Temporal Power in the Early Fifteenth Century* (London: 1958), p. 36; Cecilia M. Ady, *The Bentivoglio of Bologna: A Study in Despotism* (London: 1937), p. 12; Michele Longhi, 'Niccolò Piccinino in Bologna (Part 1)', *Atti e Memorie della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per le provincie di Romagna*, 3rd Series, 24 (1906), pp. 145-238, 461-507, at p. 151.

[45] Francesco Filippini, 'Il pulpito in S. Petronio', in *Il comune di Bologna*, IV (Bologna: 1930), pp. 1-26; p. 12; Ady, *The Bentivoglio*, p. 180.

The Franciscan's Easter Sunday peace sermon came about three months after the overthrow of papal rule, and was thus delivered during what was still a transitional, and tumultuous, time in Bolognese politics, as the sermon itself makes clear. Moreover, factional dispute and violence had been one of the main obstructive factors in previous attempts at autonomy in Bologna.[46] Peacemakings were just as often designed to mark an official end to a troubling period as they were intended to begin the process of stabilisation.[47] Sermons based around the theme of peace, moreover, could be used to encourage real action towards a pre-existing sentiment by garnering support from an audience already expectant and receptive to the theme.[48] Giovanni Coltellini's peace sermon accordingly requires further analysis in order to ascertain whether it was delivered with this context and these intentions in mind.

The suggestion that the political turmoil which afflicted Bologna at the beginning of 1416 came to inspire the need for a peace sermon is suggested partway through the work itself. After explaining Christ's central message of peace and its advantages, Coltellini bluntly states that his audience of governors and leading citizens had 'formerly lost the state's freedom through your strong discords, and had regained them but recently through a propitious God.'[49]

The value of a state of peace is particularly reinforced in the first half of the sermon. The preacher uses several authorities to lend weight to his argument, and begins with no less an exemplar than Christ himself, whom the friar depicts as,

> our pacifying king…entering the world he brought peace, going forth through the world he taught peace, leaving the world he established peace, and

[46] De Benedictis, 'Lo "stato popolare di libertà"', pp. 906-907.

[47] Dessi, 'Pratiche della parola di pace', p. 278.

[48] As argued, for instance, by Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, pp. 110-111.

[49] Ricc. 784, f. 157v – *qui dudum vestris agentibus discordiis libertatem populicam perdideratis, quam nuper Deo propitio recuperastis*.

> returning from death he advanced [the cause of] peace. Rising, he appeared to the apostles, to whom on the third day saying, "peace be upon you".[50]

The symbolism employed by the preacher here is significant. On the day celebrating the resurrection of Christ, Coltellini reminded his audience repeatedly that Christ had brought peace, and that his first words after having experienced an extreme act of violence were pacifying ones. Thus, the upheaval which had afflicted the city so recently should now be responded to by following the unimpeachable example of Christ – that is, with more diplomatic and unifying measures.

Employing the imagery of a living body, the preacher insists that the healthy state could only exist if the people were united in peace:

> Just as in the living body, as long as elements stand together mutually united, the body's health perseveres, but [if] the unity of these elements ceases and one element prevails over the others, it destroys the structure of the body. In the same way, [if] each one is united together unanimously the harmonious republic perseveres, but when the union of peace ceases, it endangers and falls entirely into ruin.[51]

Coltellini added to this that it was not enough simply to espouse the values of peace without actually observing them. For, if peace was ignored, 'from an ambition to dominate…or out of envy, hate or contempt', then not only did 'society unbind', but

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[50] Ricc. 784, f. 157r – *Christus rex noster pacificus…mundum ingrediens pacem attulit, per mundum progrediens pacem docuit, de mundo egrediens pacem statuit, de morte regrediens pacem protulit. Apostolis, quibus resurgens apparuit tertio inquiendo pax vobis…*

[51] ibid., f. 157v – *Quemadmodum in corpore animali, quamdiu elementa invicem conciliata consistunt, salus corporis perseverat, conciliatione autem huiusmodi cessante et uno elemento in aliud prevalente, compago corporis dissipatur, sic unaqueque res publica concordia unanimi conciliata incolummis perseverat, pacis autem conciliatione cessante, omnino periclitatur et ruit.*

by extension the state itself was endangered.[52] Dissenters and outsiders, then – those who refused to conform for the good of the city – were identified as the root cause of societal and political problems.

In particular, it appears to be the threat of fresh factional strife between the various noble families which Coltellini was seeking to deter. Indeed, exhortations toward the curbing of factional violence were a common theme for contemporary preachers.[53] Within Bologna itself, though challenges to papal authority over the city in this period were frequent, it cannot be said that the Bolognese were united in their goals beyond the wish for autonomy. The city statutes reveal from early on a keen desire, at the least, to contain factional violence to private feud and limit collateral damage.[54] For the first half of the fifteenth century, the city can be characterised most effectively by reference to this often violent internal political instability and factional strife, which has led past scholars to comment on the 'bewildering array of political forms' in this period.[55] This volatility is likewise hinted at strongly by Coltellini. The preacher declared (quoting Augustine's citation of the *Somnium Scipionis*) that a state ruled by

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[52] Ricc. 784, f. 157v – *Nihil ergo pace melius in humanis qua et prosperantur terrena et eterna indubie promerentur. Si quid pax est bonus, commendatum quidem ab omnibus, observatum autem a paucis. Que autem causa fortasse ambitio dominii aut facultatum aut livor aut odium aut contemptus aut aliquid huiusmodi, quibus humana societas solvitur et inde queque res publica perclitatur.*
Compare Cyril's comments on Luke 24:36-40 in Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea in Quatuor Evangelia* (Turin: 1925), p. 347 – *pax bonum commendatum ab omnibus, observatum autem a paucis. Quae autem est causa? Fortassis ambitio dominii aut facultatum, aut livor, aut odium, aut contemptus, aut aliquid huiusmodi ex his quae dei ignaros videmus incurre*.

[53] For instance, much scholarly work has revolved around Bernardino da Siena's efforts at resolving factional violence. See, for example, Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, pp. 126-180.

[54] *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*, ed. G. Fasoli & P. Sella (Vatican City: 1937), p. 209. On the concern over factional violence, see also Trevor Dean, 'Marriage and Mutilation: Vendetta in Late Medieval Italy' *Past and Present*, 157 (Nov. 1997), pp. 3-36.

[55] Nicholas Terpstra, 'Civic Self-Fashioning in Renaissance Bologna: Historical and Scholarly Contexts', *Renaissance Studies*, 13, no. 4 (1999), pp. 389-396, at p. 390; De Benedictis, 'Lo "stato popolare di libertà"', p. 903.

a small number of the 'best' (as Bologna's government would have been defined) was unjust if that number agreed to form a faction. In such circumstances, the preacher warned, the state was, 'not only full of vice but entirely ceases to be.'[56] While this passage appears to be directed at the governing body itself, it should also be viewed from the perspective of the interests they represented. As the *Sedici Riformatori* were composed of members from several, traditionally inimical, factions, this advice can be read as an appeal to the various interests within the governing body to work together – and also as advice to the factions themselves not to influence their representatives toward divisive measures. Coltellini thus signalled to both the members of the governing body and the coalition of factions as a whole that the traditional enmities would no longer be acceptable, and consequently that the parties should fall in line with the example set by the members of the governing body. In other words, in addition to giving his advice, the preacher gave his public approval to the composition and continuation of the new ruling body.

As well as elucidating the benefits of peace for his audience, the preacher conversely demonstrated to them the inability of force and aggression to expand successfully the state and bring glory to the individual. Instead, correct morals and behaviour (two key tools to the preservation of peace) are presented as the safeguard to success and power. It is interesting to note that Coltellini chose to support this Christian ideal by quoting the words of the Roman senator Cato:

> I do not think that it was by arms that our ancestors made the republic great from being small…But it was other things than these that made them great

[56] Ricc. 784, f.158r – *iniusti obtimates* [sic]*, quorum consensum dixit esse factionem…non modo vitiosam sed omnino nullam esse rem publicam*. Compare Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, II.xxi – *iniusti optimates, quorum consensum dixit esse factionem…non iam vitiosam, sicut pridie fuerat disputatum, sed, sicut ratio ex illis definitionibus conexa docuisset, omnino nullam esse rem publicam*.

> men…industry at home, just government without, a mind free in deliberation, addicted neither to crime nor to lust.[57]

Indeed, the vast majority of the latter half of the sermon uses classical authorities, above all Cicero (either directly or through Augustine), to illustrate points concerning justice and law. Like the early Church Fathers and the humanists of his own time, Coltellini was reconciling classical and Christian life and morality.[58] Thus, while the use of classical authorities is not unusual, the extent to which they are relied upon may be so for Coltellini's time, as in this the preacher better reflects the direction of sermons in the later Quattrocento. Both surviving sermons, moreover, bear the hallmarks of epideictic oratory in their praise of the ancient Romans, suggesting that Coltellini was an early convert to styles of classical rhetoric, which has usually been noted to have begun to influence sermons from the second half of the fifteenth century.[59] This form of preaching, which would also abandon the thematic structure still employed by Coltellini, became popular at the papal court toward the end of the Quattrocento.[60] The potential link between this new form of sermon composition and the recourse to certain preachers by governing authorities should not be overlooked. A more civic-minded style to the sermon – one which focused on eulogising or

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[57] Ricc. 784, f. 158v - *nolite, inquit, extimare maiores nostros armis rem publicam ex parva magnam fecisse…Sed alia fuere que illos viros magnos fecerunt…domi industria, foris iustum imperium, animus in consulendo liber nec libidini nec delicto obnoxius.* The speech is quoted by Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, V.xii (For translations see the Loeb edition – Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, 7 vols., eds. T. E. Page et al (London: 1957-1972)).

[58] O'Malley, *Praise and Blame*, pp. 10-11; also see the collection of articles, in *The Sermon*, ed. Kienzle, including for instance, the editor's 'Conclusion', pp. 963-984, at p. 964; Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* (London: 1970), p. xx.

[59] Delcorno, 'Medieval Preaching in Italy', p. 481.

[60] Martin F. Ederer, *Humanism, Scholasticism, and the Theology and Preaching of Domenico de' Domenichi in the Italian Renaissance* (Lewinston: 2003), p. 36-38; Also see O'Malley, *Praise and Blame*; Craig Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas: Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance* (London: 1989), p. 26.

castigating – was more useful in assisting the governing body in establishing its authority than earlier, more homiletic styles, which concerned themselves with theological elucidation to a far greater extent.[61]

The fundamental message of the sermon, however, appeared around its mid-point. Coltellini proclaimed that, 'in order that the republic is saved from harm it is necessary that one should be subordinate to the needs of all and to well-ordered intention – *indeed, that all should exert themselves towards a common usefulness*.'[62] Although this point – which makes clear the friar's assertion of the idea of the common good – had already been suggested in Coltellini's allusions to a living body, the preacher found it necessary to underline its importance. However, it is Coltellini's interpretation of what can constitute working towards the common good which is of particular interest. This was not quite the Thomist ideal of mutual support as a means solely to the attainment of spiritual wealth and salvation, which Bernadette Paton has claimed is 'manifestly present in the work of the most prominent preachers of the late medieval period.'[63] Kempshall, in his study of the idea of the common good in the Middle Ages, identified two varying definitions of the common good in medieval thought: first, the common good as moral goodness and a virtuous life, which the preachers of Paton's study are seen to evoke; and second, as material advantage and the security of peace. In Coltellini's 1416 sermon, the latter definition appears to be

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[61] Delcorno, 'Medieval Preaching in Italy', p. 453 notes that thirteenth- and fourteenth-century preaching, especially those of mendicants, tended to focus to a greater extent (though not exclusively) on issues of doctrine.

[62] Ricc. 784, f.157v (my italics) – *Ut enim salvetur incolumis ipsa res publica necesse est ut sit subditorum omnium una et ordinata intentio, una quidem ut scilicet omnes utilitatem communem intendant*.

[63] Paton, *Preaching Friars and the Civic Ethos*, p. 90.

prevalent, a *communis utilitas* rather than *bonum commune*.[64] The maintenance or recovery of earthly peace is presented in terms, perhaps unsuprisingly, of divine tools which God gave to men so that by, 'good use of these…[every man] should receive better and greater things…' He also warned that, 'he who used them badly should not receive eternal peace and should lose earthly peace,' and therefore suffer the loss of any gains, both material and spiritual, which were the results of a peaceful situation.[65] Coltellini also extends this warning to cover the state as a whole, observing that, 'every kingdom divided against itself will be ruined. Because just as republics thrive with a little peace, so they collapse with great discords.'[66] The preacher thus places the essence of good government, and individual success, in the prudent recourse to tools for the preservation of peace. The friar used his sermon not only to link political legitimacy to 'true' Christian justice, but crucially also to provide a more pragmatic, practical idea of peace. Primarily, peace could be used in a more spiritually appropriate manner, in order to secure eternal communion with God through working for the common good, but it was also permissable to propagate peace with the aim instead of material advantage and personal success, as this is itself represented as a form of common usefulness through the very promotion of peace and order. The prosperity of the state, and thus its citizens, was highlighted as the direct result of the

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[64] Matthew Seann Kempshall, *The Common Good in Late Medieval Political Thought* (Oxford: 1999), pp. 24-25.

[65] Ricc 784, f. 157v - *Deus enim, naturarum omnium sapientissimus conditor et iustissimus ordinator, qui terrenorum ornamentorum maximum instituit mortale genus humanum, dedit hominibus quedam bona huic vite congrua et pacem temporalem et que huic paci vel tuende vel recuperande necessaria sunt, eo pacto equissimo, ut qui mortalibus bonis paci mortalium acomodatis recte usus fuerit accipiat meliora atque ampliora scilicet immortalitatis pacem, qui autem perperam facit nec pacem eternam accipiat et temporalem amittat*. This is taken from Augustine, *De civitate dei*, XIX.xiii.

[66] ibid., f. 157v – "*omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur.*" *Quippe quia sicut concordia parve res crescunt, ita discordia maxime dilabuntur*. The quotation was taken either from Matthew 12:25, or Luke 11:17. The rest is from Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum*, X.

maintenance of peace. And concurrently, *active* engagement at peaceful efforts was repeatedly emphasised, indicating that this was considered an essential factor in the maintenance of stability and unity.

The heavy insistence on working together for the common good, whilst allowing for the attainment of personal ambitions, could also have been read as indirect advice for the representatives of those factions uncertain or wary of their place in the new alliance. For instance, the Galuzzi faction was noted by the Bolognese chronicler Girolamo Borselli (d.1497) as being at first in disagreement with and distrustful of the new governors.[67] Further, Coltellini quotes Ambrose on justice – 'justice is directed first toward God, second to one's country, third to one's relatives, then towards all' – before immediately following this up with another list of necessary obligations not limited to justice, which he ascribes to Ambrose but actually appears to be the friar's own reworking – 'reverence in God, goodwill to the state, loyalty to parents, but for all friendship, harmony and innocence without injury.'[68] By doing so, the preacher drives home through repetition the necessary obligations, as well as, through his elaboration of Ambrose's final division, revealing a central hope (and therefore a genuine fear of the opposite occurring) – concord without violence or division. Recognising that violent upheaval was the common solution for those unhappy with their place in the status quo, the preacher sought to dissuade them.

This sermon also appears to encourage approval of the new government's initiatives. Such support may have been required as, while the *Sedici Riformatori* were not an entirely new institution – having first been established in 1393 following

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[67] Borselli, 'Cronica gestorum', p. 73.

[68] Ricc. 784, f. 158r – *At iustitie prima pars in Deum, secunda in patriam, tertia in parentes, deinde in omnes, ait Ambrosius in suo De officiis libro primo: in Deum, inquam, religio, affectus in patriam, pietas in parentes, in omnes autem amicitia, concordia, innocentia sine iniuria aliqua*. See Ambrose, *De Officiis*, I.xxvii.127.

a similar overthrow of papal rule – their authority had a tenuous claim to legitimacy, as it had been instituted as a temporary college by a non-elected body, and had then gained permanent status, again with no juridical basis.[69] The *Riformatori* included representatives from factions with past rivalries and competing interests, and would have thus found agreement hard to come by.[70] Moreover, one of the first acts of the new government had been to pay off with a substantial sum the *condottiero* Braccio da Montone, who had claimed governorship, thus beginning their rule on a less than sound financial footing.[71]

Nonetheless, by the time of Coltellini's sermon, the *Riformatori* had begun pushing through reforms at every level of government, as well as repatriating, along with all their honours and privileges, those members of the nobility who had been exiled under the earlier vicariate of Baldassare Cossa.[72] These events would, of course, themselves have raised opposition from some while at the same time introducing yet another political element into the city. The conclusion to the sermon reflects this changing political reality, as the preacher heralded a new beginning and encouraged the acceptance of the ongoing reforms by exhorting his audience to 'busy yourselves with establishing the highest justice, set in order with just decrees, regulate with

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[69] Giorgio Tamba, 'I XVI Riformatori dello stato di libertà nella loro prima esperienza,' *L'eredità culturale di Gina Fasoli: Atti del convegno di studi per il centenario della nascita [1905-2005] Bologna-Bassano del Grappa 24-25-26 novembre 2005*, ed. Francesca Bocchi and Gian Maria Varanini (Rome: 2008), pp. 401-460 at pp. 415-417; De Benedictis, 'Lo stato popolare di libertà', p. 903.

[70] Sorbelli, *I Bentivoglio*, p. 34 summarises the difficulties and contested voting which arose soon after, in 1417.

[71] ibid., p. 34.

[72] De Benedictis, 'Lo stato popolare di libertà', p .909; Rolando Dondarini, *Bologna medievale nella storia della città* (Bologna: Patron, 2000), p. 317.

healthy counsel, honour with morals, and establish peace and harmony…'[73] This peace sermon, then, and the preacher employed to deliver it, is a notable indicator of how the late medieval Italian city elite might attempt to deal with the often tense social and political reality. This is further in evidence throughout much of the second half of the sermon, which broadens its scope to encompass the promotion of good laws and justice. Coltellini lectures that, 'citizens should be in agreement with the law,' and that it was not enough to exist in a state of no visible violence if, behind the scenes, justice was not being upheld.[74] The preacher continues:

> If the wickedness of the perverse be united in peace, the strength of their evil acts is increased; He then who associates the iniquitous together in peace supplies strength to iniquity, since even worse they suppress the good, whom they persecute unanimously. Thus, the unjust republic ought not to be named as such...[75]

Employing the lengthy definition of a republic given by Scipio (most probably culled from Augustine's use of the same in *De Civitate Dei*), the preacher reminded his audience that, 'a republic cannot be administered without justice.'[76] Continuing his use of these authorities, Coltellini repeated the point several times in quick succession – 'where there is not true justice…there can be no people, and if no people, then no

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[73] Ricc. 784, f. 158v – *cives prestantissimi…satagentes eam summa fundare iustitia, equis dirigere institutis, consiliis salubribus regulare, ornare moribus, pace et concordia stabilire…*

[74] ibid., f. 157v – *scilicet cives invicem iure consentiant*.

[75] ibid., f. 158r – *si perversorum nequitia in pace iungitur, profecto malis actibus robur augetur; qui ergo iniquos pace sociat iniquitati vires administrat, quia bonos deterius deprimunt quos et unanimiter persecuntur*. *Iniqua ergo nec res publica dicenda est…*; Compare Gregory the Great, *Regula Pastoralis*, III.xxiii.

[76] ibid., f. 158r – *geri sine iustitia non posse rem publicam*; Compare Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XIX.xxi.

estate of the people…;'[77] 'it is evident that the essential opinion of Scipio is that the republic cannot be governed without absolute justice;'[78] and, 'without great justice the republic cannot be governed or stand firm.'[79] The reinforcement of this point suggests that it was an important issue for the preacher, not least because justice was a common concern of mendicant preaching. Justice, both as practiced in everyday relations and within the judicial system, was associated with the spiritual and material well-being of the city.[80] When viewed within the contemporary context, this section comes across as an encouragement for good, just government at a time of political transition. In addition, however, when related to the entirety of the sermon, which aimed to bring the city – and, in particular, its noble class – together in union with the new government, the emphasis on justice becomes an endorsement of the reforming activities of the same government. The need for good law and true justice is promoted to an audience very much aware of (and, indeed, party to) the recent disorder and corruption which had afflicted the city, but perhaps not altogether comfortable with the scale of reform being attempted at the present time. The preacher reminded his audience that to interfere with the establishment of good, just rule was to see themselves turn from potential participants in government into a mere mob – and no better than what had come before.

Following his discussion of justice, the preacher gives his vocal support to Augustine's 'very correctly defined' description of, 'the peace of the city as being

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[77] Ricc. 784, f. 158r – *ubi non est vera iustitia…ideo nec populus, et si non populus, nec res populi…*; Compare Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* XIX.xxi.

[78] ibid., f. 158r – *unde liquet iuxta Scipionis sententiam hoc necessarium esse sine summa iustitia rem publicam regi non posse*; Compare Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, II.xxi.

[79] ibid., f. 158r – The full quote is: *nihil tam inimicum quam iniustitia civitati nec omnino nisi magna iustitia geri aut stare posse rem publicam*; Compare Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, II.xxi.

[80] Paton, *Preaching Friars and the Civic Ethos*, pp. 43, 135.

well-ordered ruling and the obedient harmony of the citizens…order is the distribution of things equal and unequal, each to its own place.'[81] While Coltellini's thoughts here are conventional, they yet serve to impress the same belief upon his audience. Indeed, that same conservatism made Coltellini an ideal speaker for the current regime, evincing as it did a conviction that the present order should not be challenged. Moreover, this was followed by the preacher cautioning that those who were not dutiful citizens would be, 'punished by death, exile, imprisonment or fine.'[82] This should not be considered a threat from the preacher. Rather, in the eyes of Coltellini, it is solely a statement of fact designed to illustrate the personal effects to those who would attempt to destabilise or turn away from the governing authority, in addition to the negative consequences to the populace as a whole described earlier in the sermon. As such, it works to make the warning more personally relevant, and forms another part of Coltellini's balancing of individual and communal factors, which is witnessed throughout the sermon. It is notable, however, that this comes within the context of the preacher's assertion that the populace should remain obedient to law and to the ruling authority – and not within the preacher's earlier, more general, warnings as to the dangers of peace being overthrown. The preacher thus endorsed the requirement of compliant submission to the ruling authority if the city was to thrive, and notably encouraged, and warned, his audience to be content with the status quo and their place within it – elements which are also very much in evidence within Coltellini's Easter Sunday sermon of a year later.

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[81] Ricc. 784, f. 158r – *Inde pacem civitatis Augustinus rectissime diffinivit quod est ordinata imperandi atque obediendi concordia civium…ordo est parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio;* Compare Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XIX.xiii.

[82] ibid., f.158r – *eos morte, exilio, vinculis, dampno coherecent*. Compare Cicero, *De Officiis*, III.v.23.

3. The 'Unity' sermon of 1417:

The second sermon, delivered on 11 April 1417, Easter Sunday, to an audience of similar composition, is somewhat harder to categorise than the previous sermon. Although it treads on territory familiar in some instances to the 1416 sermon – even repeating some of the same lines – the main focus of this later work is unity and loyalty rather than the advantages of peace and common utility. Reflecting this intention, Coltellini chose to build his 1417 sermon around the scriptural theme, 'let us feast, not with the leavened bread of malice and wickedness, but the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.'[83]

Coltellini divided this sermon into three *divisiones*. He began by extolling the virtues of unity and concord among citizens (developed upon from the first words of the *thema*, 'let us feast'). The middle part of the sermon moved on to encouraging his audience to cast out pernicious evils from the city ('let us feast *not* with the leavened bread of malice and wickedness'). Finally, the preacher promoted a just and morally upstanding way of life ('let us feast with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth').

The delivery of this sermon is immediately significant for two reasons: First, that the sermon cycle was once again delivered by Coltellini is suggestive of a positive reception for his sermons of the previous year. Second, the similar subject matter indicates that the underlying problems for rule and government in Bologna had not been solved over the intervening year.

This is not to say there had been a renewed outbreak of outward violence. Indeed, the Bolognese chronicles display no sign that the turbulence of the previous year was

[83] Ricc. 784, f. 159r – *Epulentur non in fermento malicie et nequitie sed in azimis sinceritatis et veritatis* (1 Corinthians 5:8).

being repeated.[84] The suggestion inherent in this sermon appears to be that the bonds uniting the coalition of factions were being tested in ways other than violence, and required strengthening. As the preacher stated, 'I am urged in the present circumstances to deliver words with regards to the duties of splendid and powerful lords – to you who govern the state, so that the mind might be shaped by the building up of a useful speech.'[85] It is possible to interpret this statement as either a desire of the preacher's own volition, guided by the composition of his audience, or as a duty bestowed upon him by the governing authority. In both cases, however, the ways in which Coltellini went on further to elucidate his chosen topic seem a response to the cracks which had begun to appear within the coalition of factions in Bologna. The mutual accord which was exhibited by the factions in 1416 had given way to a greater degree of uncertainty by 1417.[86]

Following the *introductio*, in which the preacher outlined how he was to proceed through the sermon, and established the origin of the *thema*, the sermon proper began by expounding upon how, 'the bond of civil concord is steadfastly strengthened in the republic.' The importance of harmony amongst citizens is immediately emphasised by Coltellini, who enjoins his audience to love their fellow citizen, though, 'less with love of family friendship, but more with love of civil concord, which is the primary

[84] 'Cronaca A/ Cronaca B' pp. 559-560, mention only the appointment of Niccolò Albergati as the new bishop of Bologna.

[85] Ricc. 784, f. 159r – *quia de inpositione magnificorum et potentum dominorum urgeor in presentiarum pro ferrariae sermones ad vos prestantissimos cives, qui rem publicam geritis, ut sermo mens utili hedificationem formentur.*

[86] Michele Longhi, 'Niccolò Piccinino in Bologna (Part 2)', *Atti e Memorie della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per le provincie di Romagna*, 3rd Series, 25 (1907), pp. 109-162, 273-377, at p. 112.

foundation of the republic, and if it stands firm, the republic stands firm.'[87] Much as in the sermon of the previous year, the preacher drew the comparison with a living body whose separate elements had to cooperate as one, as, 'if the structure ceases to be in harmony, the body degrades.'[88] This recurrent use of body imagery is a common staple in medieval writings on political theory.[89] Its inspiration in Coltellini's sermons can, in all likelihood, be ascribed to John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, a twelfth-century work on political theory, which the preacher employed in other parts of the sermon (as well as extensively in his later speech for the Emperor Sigismund), and which also used body imagery to elucidate thoughts on governing. It should be pointed out, however, that John of Salisbury's comparison of the state to a body differs somewhat, as he stated that all other elements were also subordinate to the head. Whilst Coltellini might elsewhere in his sermons encourage obedience to the rulers, he elects not to utilise this message of subordination.[90] A sermon delivered to the governing elite need not emphasise subordination to any other group, as they indeed were the head. In addition the sermon urges active working toward a common purpose through natural inclination, rather than being passively led by others. Thus here the preacher reworks his sources in order better to correspond to the contemporary context

The theme of unity was best exemplified during Coltellini's extended description in this *divisio* of what it meant to be called a citizen. Within this also lies another

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[87] Ricc. 784, f. 159r – *nedum familiari amicitie, sed magis amore civilis concordie, quae est rei publice primarium fundamentum, quo stante, res publice stat solidi*.

[88] ibid., f. 159r – *cessante compago corporis discipat*.

[89] Even a quick survey of the sourcebook by Cary J. Nederman & Kate Langdon Forhan, *Medieval Political Theory – A Reader: The Quest for the Body Politic, 1100-1400* amply demonstrates this across many different medieval writers.

[90] Cary J. Nederman, *John of Salisbury* (Temple, AZ: 2005), pp. 54-55.

interesting adaptation of an authority in order to communicate better his own specific message. The Franciscan stated that without civil concord, there was no city. This was, according to Coltellini, what Isidore of Seville had said in his *Etymologies*, when he defined the city as 'not the stones, but those *that dwell together*.'[91] These citizens, the preacher continues, imbue the city with the civic unity and communal bond which grants them the title *cives*. [92] Without these qualities, the terms city and citizen were not applicable: 'there is neither living together, by those who say they are citizens, nor is there even some city that can be called *civitas*.'[93]

In actual fact, Isidore had not quite said this. The archbishop had instead defined *civitas* as, 'not the stones, but *the inhabitants*.'[94] Where Isidore had used the word *habitatores*, Coltellini had instead employed the word *cohabitatores* – a small, yet significant, difference. With this change, the preacher laid stress on not merely inhabiting the same defined space, but inhabiting it in a spirit of cooperation and peace. The purpose of this change appears to have been to stress more directly the need for *active* cooperation with the ruling body and other factions, rather than a passive and temporary suspension of conflict.

Coltellini does not always identify his authorities (or if he does, then not always the particular work he is employing), but he builds upon his point of cooperation by stating that Cicero's chapter, 'on the bonds of human society in the first book on

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[91] My italics.

[92] Ricc. 784, f. 159r – *Cohabitatores autem eoque in unum coeuntes vivant societatis vinculo adunati dicuntur cives*. Compare Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, IX.iv.2 – *Cives vocati, quod in unum coeuntes vivant, ut vita communis et ornatior fiat et tutior*.

[93] ibid., 784, f. 159r – *sine qua nec simul choabitantes, dicendi sunt cives, nec urbs aliqua est civitas nuncupada*.

[94] ibid., f. 159r – *Civitas enim non saxa, sed cohabitantes dicuntur*. Compare Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, XV.ii.4-5 – *civitas autem non saxa, sed habitatores vocantur*. The critical edition of Isidore's *Etymologies* by W. M. Lindsay records no word other than *habitatores* being used in manuscripts of this work, thus strongly suggesting that this change was Coltellini's choice.

public duties [*de officiis*],' makes this very clear.[95] 'There are many degrees of human society,' the preacher quotes,

> there is the closer one of belonging to the same people, tribe, and tongue…It is still a closer relation to be citizens of the same city-state…But of all the bonds of fellowship, there is none more noble, none more powerful than when good men of congenial character are joined in intimate friendship.[96]

When put into the political context of Bologna in 1417, this line, expanding upon the worth of friendship as given by a famous statesman, appears designed to demonstrate the value of the current state of affairs to the various factions present and currently engaged in what must have been, given their previous history, an uneasy alliance. This passage is also indicative of the adaptability of the preacher according to context, due to the interesting contrast which it provides in comparison to Coltellini's thoughts on loyalty of the previous year. Formerly, Coltellini had spoken of the importance of a bond with God and the ruling authority, with the importance of loyal friendship only named in the fourth and final category.[97] But a year later, the preacher's emphasis changed to one of concord between the members of his audience of elites, rather than one of concord between subjects and the new ruling authority. More than a year in, the *Riformatori* had established themselves as the governing body, but this change in approach from Coltellini perhaps suggests a desire on the part of the *Riformatori*, and the preacher, to reaffirm the alliances which held that body together.

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[95] Ricc. 784, f. 159r – *evidentius edoceri qui primo libro de officio capitula de vinculis humane societatis*

[96] ibid., f. 159r – *Gradus autem plures sunt societatis hominum. Ut enim ab illa infinita discedatur, proprior est eiusdem gentis, nationis, linguae…Interius etiam est eiusdem esse civitatis…Sed omnium sociatorum nulla praestantior est nulla firmior quae cum boni viri moribus similes sunt familiaritate coniuncti*. Compare Cicero, *De Officiis*, I.55.

[97] ibid., f. 158r. See above, p. 69.

Continuing in this fashion, Coltellini reworked his thoughts on an individual's relationship with the state. A previous message of loyalty and obedience was reshaped to one of love and the value of unity:

> When with a rational spirit you have surveyed the whole field, there is no social relation among them all more precious than that which links each one of us with our country. Relatives are dear, dear are children, household members, and friends, but one's native land embraces all our loves.[98]

The audience was exhorted to look beyond kin ties which, it is suggested, may have blinded them to the bonds which united all the citizens of Bologna and which even now threatened once again to destabilise the city. This again appears to be the implication when Coltellini advises his audience later in the sermon not to appoint, 'unruly youths…of which it is agreed…[in Rome] the corrupt youth took over from their fathers, and by whose advice it [Rome] was thrown headlong into ruin.'[99] An extended description of the successes of the ancient Romans due to their love for their republic (which precedes the above warning) seems clearly intended to win the audience over to the preacher's argument by providing them with an example worthy of emulation. Indeed, Coltellini even openly states this intention by entreating them

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[98] Ricc. 784, f.159r – *Sed cum omnia ratione animoque lustraris, omnium societatum nulla est gravior, nulla carior quam ea, quae cum re publica est uni cuique nostrum. Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est.* Compare Cicero, *De Officiis*, I.57.

[99] ibid., f.160r – *non iuvenes petulantes…praecesserunt patres succesit prava iuventus, quorum consiliis praecipitata ruis*. This appears to have been taken from a famous Latin epigram: *Roma vetus, veteres dum te rexere Quirites, nec bonus inmunis nec malus ullus erat. Patribus exstinctis successit prava iuventus, quorum consiliis praecipitata ruis*. See *Anthologia veterum latinorum epigrammatum et poematum*, ed. Pieter Burman, 2 vols. (Leipzig: 1835), II, p. 4, n. 881.

to, 'imitate with fervid emulation these remarkable deeds, distinguished citizens, if you desire your republic to endure unharmed.'[100]

The preacher further appealed to a powerful feature of Bolognese politics in this period – the idea of autonomy (indeed, the full title of the governing body, *Sedici Riformatori dello Stato di Libertà*, noticeably calls upon ideas of freedom and independence). Indeed, the factions of Bologna's noble families framed their actions as defence of liberty and Bolognese independence throughout the Quattrocento.[101] By swapping around parts and omitting others of a laudatory piece originally from Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, Coltellini expressly highlighted the Roman desire for freedom ('every other desire was repressed by the strength of their passion for that one thing') and their love for their republic.[102] Upholding the popular Bolognese ideals of freedom and independence is reminiscent of Bernardino da Siena's attempts to unite factions around a common 'IHS' symbol, but in this instance more concentrated on the particular ideals of the preacher's own hometown.[103]

Throughout most of this *divisio*, Coltellini spoke of ideas of unity and working together for the good of the state, but largely refrained from discussing how his audience should *not* act (a comment from Sallust, that even the greatest states fall through discord, being the exception).[104] However, the tone changes markedly at the

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[100] Ricc. 784, f. 159v – *emulatione fervida ymittenum*[sic] *cives egregii si vestram rem publicam cupitis incolumem permanere*.

[101] Gina Fasoli, 'Bologna nell'età medievale (1115-1506)', *Storia di Bologna*, eds. Antonio Ferri & Giancarlo Roversi (Bologna: 1978), pp. 127-196, at p. 183.

[102] Ricc. 784, f. 159r – *Quod etiam antiquos romanos fecisse…Veteres igitur inquit Romani, quantum eorum docet et commendat historia, patriam suam, quoniam servire videbatur inglorium, dominari vero atque imperare gloriosum, prius omni studio liberam, deinde dominam esse concupiverunt. Hanc ardentissime dilexerunt, propter hanc vivere voluerunt, pro hac emori non dubitaverunt; cetera cupiditates huius unius ingenti cupiditate presserunt*. Compare Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, V.xii.1.

[103] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, p. 72.

[104] Ricc. 784, f. 159r.

end of the *divisio* (and this change is carried into and throughout the second *divisio*), in order to establish more clearly the nature of the difficulties which were besetting the ruling authority. This alteration in tone begins when the preacher sets before his audience two precepts of Plato concerning governing, as reported by Cicero. Coltellini here addresses those who wished to govern, stating that, 'those who propose to take charge of the affairs of government should not fail to remember two of Plato's rules.'[105] Whilst Coltellini states both precepts, he chooses to elaborate further on the second only, 'to attend to the welfare of the whole body politic and *not* in serving the interest of some one party to betray the rest.'[106] The correlation to factional disputes is clear. The friar continues by warning that if this rule was not followed, and instead, 'an individual appropriates [things] to their own ends, then all human fellowship will be destroyed.' [107] As Coltellini had already set out, this 'human fellowship,' or civil concord, was the backbone to any potential success of the state. The entire second *divisio*, ostensibly concerned with the, 'destructive venom of wickedness,' being expelled from the city, can be interpreted as an elaboration of this precept and as a plea towards supporting the ruling authority over the concerns of faction. The 'leavened bread of wickedness' around which Coltellini focuses the *divisio* is defined as the spread of dissension through speaking out against the governing authority. The preacher proclaims that, 'duty is alone…when truth is disguised by deceitful

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[105] Ricc. 784, f. 159v – *Omnino qui rei publicae praefuturi sunt duo Platonis praecepta teneant*. See Cicero, *De Officiis*, I.85.

[106] ibid., f. 159v – The first precept was to keep the good of the people in mind; *alterum ut totum corporis rei publice sic procurent ne dum partem aliquam tuentur reliquas deserant*. Compare Cicero, *De Officiis*, I.85.

[107] ibid., f. 159v – *ut scilicet eadem sit utilitas uniuscuiusque et universorum quam si ad se quisque rapiat dissolvitur omnis humana consortio*. Compare Cicero, *De Officiis*, III.vi.26.

behaviour for one's own advantage or intended to disadvantage another.'[108] Moreover, the preacher continued, 'wickedness labours in cunning stratagems,' and,

> whilst wrong may be done in either of two ways, as says Cicero in the first book on public duties, that is, by force or by fraud, both are wholly unworthy of man, but fraud is the more contemptible. And also recall, what is more odious than deception and guile, which, in the guise of love and fidelity, is practiced against the simple and trusting…What more treacherous than to deceive by verbal flattery, which, through blinding, throws headlong into ruin?[109]

Coltellini thus urged the audience not only towards trust and loyalty, but perhaps even more so toward abstaining from deception or dissent, either for their own purposes or through general suspicion of the activities of those in government. The Franciscan once again utilises body imagery when he next compares deception to a physical infection. Divisive whispering is likened, quoting Bernard of Clairvaux, to a 'hostile army', which, 'lays waste the fields and plunders homes and leads the city towards utter destruction' (though here again the friar altered the quote in order better to fit the context – Bernard's twelfth-century monastic original makes no mention of cities).[110]

This emphasis on the adverse effects of sowing discontent, over even the effects of violence, correlates with contemporary chronicles, which do not speak of any outward

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[108] Ricc. 784, f. 159v – *unius officium est…cum moribus deceptoriis veritate paliata proprium commodum vel alterius incommodum intendere*.

[109] ibid., f. 159v – *enim molitur verssutorum malicia…cum enim duobus modis fiat iniuria ut dicit Tulius primo de oficiis, id est aut vi aut fraude, utrumque homine alienissimum, sed fraus odio digna maiore. Et revoca, quid enim odibilius fraude et dolo, quo sub imagine amoris et fidei, in simplicem et credulum…quid vero infidelius est quam eum cui fideas debeas circumvenire verborum blanditis ut ob cecatum precipites in ruinam*. See Cicero, *De Oficiis*, I.xiii.41; John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, III.3.

[110] ibid., f. 159v – *hostilis exercitus vastat agros, domos spoliat urbem perducit ad exterminium*. Compare Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Epistola CXXIX ad Ianuenses', *Opera Omnia*, P.L. 182, ed. J. Mabillon (Paris: 1862), p. 284, which ends with *domosque spoliat*.

violence or rebellion against the current regime, but do hint that all was not well within the alliance.[111] With several, normally inimical, factions ruling in a coalition, suspicion may indeed have been rife. Coltellini was concerned with ending any form of divisiveness – in this instance, in the form of mutterings of dissatisfaction which he considered a threat to the stability of the governing authority and likely to provoke a return to violent and destabilising factional struggles. This is confirmed a few lines later when he names 'the factious' as, 'the greatest of disturbances to peaceful citizens'.[112] The preacher urges his listeners to, 'drive out and expel with eagerness' these disruptive influences, 'so that the bonds of union between citizens should not be impaired.'[113]

The conclusion to the second *divisio* continues the insistence on the expulsion of these influences, now directly addressing the audience – 'most beloved citizens, purify! Get rid of the old yeast [i.e. the controversy]…so that you should be refreshed in fellow-feeling…' – as well as stating in the clearest terms yet exactly what sort of wickedness he was referring to and how it should be met:

> if…through whispering among the people devils take over the exchange to themselves, strife is sown, and [the exchange] thrown into confusion…it should be swiftly met by the cure of rigid conduct, because even a little controversy corrupts the whole mass…this scourge of flatterers…has grown to such an extent that they would have the power to expel the honourable and

[111] Longhi, 'Niccolò Piccinino (Part 2)', p. 120.

[112] Ricc. 784, f. 159v – *factiosi…civium maxime turbatuii.*

[113] ibid., f. 159v – *instantia de re publica reppellendi et exterminandi…incolumem esse civium coniunctionem quam qui dirimunt.*

> meritorious rather than suffer expulsion themselves…Therefore, expel this controversy quickly, distinguished citizens...[114]

This middle section of the sermon appears, through its insistent language, to be the driving force of the sermon. It comes closest to dealing with the feelings of discontent which appear to have been brewing over the previous year, and, by urging his audience to dismiss these whispers as harmful to the stability and success of the city, reveals the preacher's alignment not only with good order (as expected), but with the continuance of the current regime. The vivid imagery which is conjured from the evocation of the *thema* serves to render this advice memorable and easily recalled by the audience.

The final *divisio* is designed to give advice as to how to conduct oneself – 'let us feast with the unleavened bread of truth and sincerity.' The opening lines resonate with the previous *divisio*, with the preacher pronouncing that the city would be happy, 'if citizens of the present republic were gluttons in life with a solid and factual whole word of fairness.'[115] The majority of this *divisio* is, however, strongly reminiscent of the final part of Coltellini's sermon of the previous year. For instance, the preacher once again repeats Cato's speech regarding the success of the ancient Romans being founded on their morals and virtues rather than their military might, also adding an extended quotation from Cicero on the same theme.[116] However, this time the

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[114] ibid., f. 159v – *Expurgate ergo cives carissime expurgate vetus fermentum…ut videlicet sitis nova compassio*; *si quis est susurro in populo diaboli sibi assumens vicem jurgia seminare et tubare…huic rigidae censurae remedio citius obvietur*, *quia fermentum modicum totam corrumpit massa…haec tamen pestis…ut si forte ventum fuerit ad conflictum vereor ne modestos et bonos viros possint facilius expellere quam expelli* (see John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, III.vi.1). *Expurgatur ergo cives egregis fermentus hoc vetus celeritur...*

[115] Ricc. 784, f. 159v – *quia tunc felicitus si cives presenti rei publice comestores fuit vita integro verbo sollidi factoque equi*.

[116] ibid., f. 160r. Coltellini quotes Cicero, *De Re Publica*, V.1.

preacher inserts a noteworthy addition to his argument regarding good morals, which may have had contemporary inspiration. Elaborating upon the *thema*'s message of sincerity and truth, Coltellini advises his audience, by way of both scriptural and classical authority, on the proper way of selecting men to govern:

> You yourself select, said Jethro to Moses, capable men from all the people – men who fear God, trustworthy men who hate avarice – and appoint them as officials…certainly man was called manly not because of his strength but because of his virtues…Thus he says select mighty men…They should be very powerful with virtues and morals, such as the ancient Romans were.[117]

Notably, the advice Coltellini gives comes from scripture, but the example of it being followed through – the element which is intended to persuade the audience of the effectiveness of the advice – comes from the classical world. The preacher's combination of Christian and classical components, like his interpretation of the common good discussed earlier, reveals much about the style and language which Coltellini believed would aid him in convincing his audience – and which, equally, his audience wished to hear. This becomes further apparent in the final third of the sermon, where Coltellini draws a direct parallel between the virtuous ancient Romans – exemplars of worthy governing – and the audience before him.[118]

The catalyst for this section, which strongly urged fair selection, may be found in the upcoming elections to Bologna's governing bodies, the preparations for which his audience of the city's leaders would have been directly engaged. In Bologna, as in

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[117] Ricc. 784, ff. 159v-160r – *Provide tibi ait Iereo ad Moysem de omni plebe viros potentes et timentes deum in quibus sit veritas et qui oderint avaritiam et constitue ex eis tribunos…vir utique dictus est a virilitate non quidem virium sed virtutum…ergo ait provides viros potentes…qui sint virtutibus et moribus praepotentes quales fuisse antiquos romanos*. The biblical quote at the beginning is from Exodus 18:21.

[118] See below, pp. 89.

other Italian cities, appointments to governmental bodies could depend significantly on allegiance and patronage.[119] Coltellini's words may speak of a desire not to see the various factions undermine the current order by attempting to fill the lesser public posts solely with their own adherents (as also with the earlier exhortation against appointing the young or inexperienced). This was a genuine threat as, despite the regime being composed of a coalition of several factions, governmental bodies in 1416-17 were dominated by two factions in particular, the Bentivoleschi and the Canetoli, at the expense of the others, who, nevertheless, maintained a competing presence.[120] From the viewpoint of these two factions, despite Coltellini's words, the imperative was not to select officials based on merit, but rather those who would preserve their control of government. Indeed, in 1418 the *Sedici Riformatori* abdicated and a new body of ten ruling elect was created.[121] This was composed of some of the same names as before, such as Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio and Antonio Guidetti, suggesting an effort by one or more of the factions to cut out others from power whilst strengthening their own hold.

Although Coltellini's sermon was delivered to Bologna's governing elite, and thus can be interpreted as advice given by the preacher to the ruling body itself, it should also be noted that his words served as an exhortation to the gathered to put aside notions of personal advantage when next selecting public officials – significant when the composition of Bologna's government, the increasingly insecure alliance of factions, is considered. As such, his words here, along with the rest of the sermon,

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[119] See Christine Shaw, *Popular Government and Oligarchy in Renaissance Italy* (Leiden: 2006), esp. pp. 186-226.

[120] Mario Caravale & Alberto Caracciolo, *Lo stato pontifico da Martino V a Pio IX*, Storia d'Italia, 14 (Turin: 1978), p. 15.

[121] Borselli, 'Cronica Gestorum', p. 74 – *Consilium populi abdicavit quosdam a magistratu, et creavit novos, qui libertatis defensores essent.*

imply a call for continuing faith and support for the governing body from the disparate elements which underpinned its existence. Coltellini was indeed giving advice to the governing authority, but it is the very act of promoting these directions which is significant, as it called for a focus on the maintenance of the present, unified, condition of the governing body and the exercise of caution with the selection of new appointments. These were words which held the preservation of current power in mind, something those in positions of power, such as Coltellini's audience, were keen to ensure.

Moreover, this final *divisio* evinces Coltellini's assurance in delivering advice concerning public affairs. He continues by reminding his select audience that not only was the capability to govern the city theirs, but that it was also their responsibility to make sure that it was governed well. The preacher even underlined this fact by repeating, 'Observe the words, "you yourself select", which he who judges the people for all time said…'[122] Coltellini urges his listeners to select men who would not seek to 'exploit the state for selfish profit,' and for whom, 'no bargain can be struck.'[123] Quattrocento preachers indeed regularly sought to instruct officials at lower levels of government in the virtues which they ought to illustrate when carrying out their duties.[124] Coltellini's sermon, though in a similar vein, is also somewhat different to this, namely in that it addresses not the lower officials themselves, but those who would have a hand in their appointment. Most probably as a result of this shift in audience, Coltellini treats them as active participants in the shaping of rule, rather than as passive subjects. Indeed, as mentioned, the preacher even re-emphasised his

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[122] Ricc. 784, f. 159v – *qui iudicat populum omni tempore ex capitulo XVIII* (Exodus 18) *notate verba provide tibi inquit*.

[123] ibid., f. 160r – *habere enim quaestui rem publicam non modo turpe est, sed sceleratissimum* (See Cicero, *De Officiis*, II.77)*; provide adhec viros…constat nullo pacto posse esse*.

[124] Paton, *Preaching Friars*, p. 135.

audience's ability to participate. This presents a deviation from the sermon of the year before, in which well-ordered obedience (toward institutions, such as the law, rather than toward individuals) formed part of the key message. Instead of passive obedience, then, active participation in the maintenance of unity and stability was called for, a shift in approach not only from the preacher, but perhaps also from those who appointed him. With dissent burgeoning within the ranks of the governing elite, that same group was tasked with quelling that opposition in order for *their* government to continue to function effectively.

The approach which Coltellini exhibited in his sermons to potential problems of governance displays the friar's employment of mendicant political ideology – for instance, in seeking to ensure the moral worth of public officials, and earlier in his emphasis on the common good – but with a perspective which gave the ideology a more pragmatic grounding. He advised his city's governors to select morally virtuous men, but he did not make mention of any need to improve upon their own behaviour. Indeed, by pointing out that his audience should appoint morally-upstanding officials, it is implied that they themselves already held the necessary virtues to make them fit for such a task. Moreover, if it is taken into account that part of the preacher's duty was to bolster support for the governing authority, then such advice may not have served this overarching duty. The governing authority desired to have the strengths of the current regime pointed out, and specifically not its flaws. Thus, what the preacher omits, as well as what he includes, and where the limits, self-imposed or otherwise, of the preacher's remit lie, become significant in understanding what a sermon in support of the governing authority entails.

By and large, then, as in his sermon of a year earlier, whenever the preacher addressed his audience directly, he was careful to be complimentary, even laudatory, rather than castigating. Both sermons demonstrate this inclination to celebrate virtues as if they were already held by the audience, whilst vices were denounced but not specifically related to the audience. For instance, after making clear how Rome had fallen due to a lack of men strong in virtue and morals, Coltellini was quick to add that he did not compare his present listeners to these later Romans, but instead that, 'Ennius said that these [aforementioned morals and virtues] were the things the Roman state was founded upon, and therefore these good and learned men presage and forsee you, distinguished citizens…'[125] It may be that, when selecting Coltellini as Lenten preacher, the *Sedici Riformatori* were aware of the friar's delicacy and discretion with this type of audience, having had experience of his earlier, well-received funerary oratory. The preacher also evinced a pragmatic streak once more by concluding this final *divisio* with the words, 'justice is, therefore, by all means cherished and held fast, at once for its own sake…and for the increase of one's honour and fame,' a final reminder to the city's powerful citizens that unity, working for the common good, and the cessation of dissenting voices could also work to their own personal advantage.[126] This passage makes clear Coltellini's adaptability to context, and his awareness of what topics would be most likely to receive a favourable response from his audience. It is, of course, also significant that such a call to the ideals of honour and fame are unusual for one brought up in the scholastic tradition.[127]

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[125] Ricc. 784, f. 160r – *quibus Ennius dixit rem stare romanam itaque iuxta viri bene consulti monita providete vobis cives egregii…*

[126] ibid., f. 160r – *Omni ergo ratione colenda et retinenda iusticia est cum ipsa per sese…tum propter amplificationem honoris et gloriae*. See Cicero, *De Officiis*, I.85.

[127] The influence of classical rhetoric and humanist thought, and the significance thereof, are discussed further in Chapter 4, pp. 225-235.

The Dominican preacher Tommaso dai Liuti, by contrast, demonstrates the more traditional outlook on these qualities for a scholastic.[128]

Though the content of Coltellini's preaching evinces similarities to other near-contemporary sermons on governing and office-holding, such as those of Bernardino da Siena, the tactics employed by Coltellini appear markedly different. The castigatory tone of the sermons of Bernardino da Siena are far removed from the consolatory attitude employed by Coltellini (and even more so from the fiery invective found in some of Bernardino's disciples, such as Bernardino da Feltre). The reasons for this approach could be manifold – personal preference is of course one – but it seems highly probable that audience composition, context, and the preacher's own links to the city and nobility all played a part.

4. The Value of Sermons on Peace and Unity: Conclusions

Although there is no direct record of how the sermons were received, or how effective they were, it is possible to draw some general conclusions. The decision to employ Coltellini for Lent in 1417 suggests, as already mentioned, that his sermons of 1416 had been well received. That the preacher remained a public figure in Bologna for the next fifteen years also speaks well of his continuing stature within the city, as does, of course, his commission as city orator at the time of Sigismund's sojourn in Italy. However, the succeeding political events indicate that Coltellini's call for peace, unity, and loyalty to the new government had little lasting impact. The dissolution of that government in 1418, to be replaced by a new body more heavily favouring the faction of Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio, exacerbated the political stand-off. Having

[128] See Chapter 4, pp. 231.

already accepted nominal authority by the papacy in 1419 due to the grave financial situation in which they found themselves, the Bentivoleschi and Canetoli broke their alliance the next year. Following Antongaleazzo's violent occupation of the communal palace in a bid to keep hold of power, the city was invaded by the forces of Braccio da Montone, leading to Antongaleazzo's exile and the appointment of a papal legate to rule over the city once again.[129] Perhaps, in this instance, as Trevor Dean suggests for Bologna in this period, normative texts which emphasised harmony, such as sermons, were simply, 'drowned out by cultural norms emphasising aggressiveness.'[130]

The preaching of Coltellini must also be considered, however, as only one part of a larger process of moulding the socio-political situation in Bologna. The success or failure of the venture was not reliant on the words of the preacher alone, and therefore his personal impact must be considered in tandem with the impact of other elements brought to bear by the secular authority.

Giovanni Coltellini was, in his most basic form, a mendicant Franciscan friar residing at the local convent in Bologna. But the friar appears to have been well-suited

[129] Sorbelli, *I Bentivoglio*, p. 35-36; De Benedictis, 'Lo stato popolare di libertà', p. 909; Borselli, 'Cronica Gestorum, pp. 74-75 - *Dominus Antonius filius quondam domini Iohannis de Bentivolis, palatium comunis ingressus armata manu, civitatis regimen sibi vindicare volebat. Matheus de Canetulo se opposuit cum sequacibus suis. Ex utraque parte, "Vivat populus et artes, clamabatur. Congregata multitudine in platea civitatis, ut pugnarent ad invicem, dominus Bartholomeus de Manzolis et Antonius de Guidottis tumultum sua prudentia sedaverunt, iussumque est ut omnes arma deponerent…Martinus quintus pontifex maximus, videns statum civitatis Bononie male ac pessime gubernari, Bononsiensibus nuntium misit, qui dixit pontificem libere velle dominium civitatis…Perseverante contumatia regiminis nostri, interdicta est civitas et bellum inceptum, Bratio de Perusio copiarum ecclesie duce. Bononienses, damna sua providentes, finaliter cum multis capitulis dominium civitatis ecclesie tradiderunt*.

[130] Trevor Dean, 'Domestic Violence in Late-Medieval Bologna', *Renaissance Studies* 18:4 (2004), pp. 527-543, at p. 532.

to bridging the divide between religious detachment and public life. A well-known and respected figure at the university as well as a friar, his presence at the institution may well have brought him into contact with members of the major families, who held numerous titles there in Coltellini's time – including some who were also members of the new noble ruling body.[131] Such possibilities for building relations while at the university are, for instance, made evident in Coltellini's links to Tommaso Parentucelli (later Pope Nicholas V), to whom the friar gifted a work of John Duns Scotus – most likely whilst Parentucelli was studying for his degree in theology at Bologna between 1419 and 1422.[132] Coltellini's activities at San Francesco could also bring him into contact with leading members of Bologna's political faction, as is evinced by his witnessing of the will of Gaspare Canetoli, son of Giovanni Canetoli, a prominent citizen of Bologna and a member of the powerful Canetoli faction.[133]

The importance of Coltellini's Bolognese origin and familiarity with its political travails should not be underestimated, in the same way that perhaps the 'outsider' quality of itinerant preachers like Bernardino da Siena has perhaps, at times, been overestimated.[134] Coltellini was in all likelihood previously known to his audience, some of whom may have attended the funerary sermons which he had delivered in honour of their peers, if, for instance, the testimony of Pietro Mattiolo, concerning all

[131] Paul F. Grendler, 'The University of Bologna, the City, and the Papacy', *Renaissance Studies* 13/4 (1999), pp. 475-485, at p. 476; Matteo Griffoni, 'Memoriale Historicum de rebus Bononiensium,' eds. Lodovico Frati & Albano Sorbelli, *R.I.S.* n.s. XVIII, pt. 2 (Città di Castello: 1902), p. 103.

[132] Noted in Strnad & Walsh, 'Coltellini, Giovanni', p. 486; For the *explicit*, see *Codices Vaticani Latini*, II.I, ed. A. Pelzer (Città del Vaticano: 1931), pp. 258-262, at p.262 – *Hunc librum Emi ego Thomas de Sarzana a venerabili viro Magistro Iohanne Georgii de Cultelinis ordinis Minorum, Magistro sacrarum Scripturarum*; On Nicholas V in Bologna, see Giuseppe L. Coluccia, *Niccolò V umanista: papa e riformatore: renovatio politica e morale* (Venice: 1998), pp. 57-61.

[133] This was on 15 April, 1421. ASB, *San Francesco*, 107/4239, n. 15.

[134] This factor is discussed further in Chapter 4, pp. 193-197.

those who turned out for the funeral of Francesco Ramponi, is taken at face value.[135] Although he was a Conventual, and therefore not part of the Observant reform movement, it must be remembered that this movement had only just begun to gain true momentum at the time of Coltellini's preaching.[136] In any case, Bologna remained throughout the century a stronghold of the Conventuals, centred on Coltellini's own convent of San Francesco.[137]

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the history of mendicant preaching on peace in Italy is a long one, forming one of the fundamental aspects of Franciscan activity.[138] However, it would be mistaken to dismiss the political aspect of Coltellini's sermons, and its particular relevancy to the immediate socio-political context. In the first place, as mentioned earlier, Easter Sunday sermons could be on various topics, and did not by any means have to centre on themes of peace and unity, or contain political content. Likewise, preaching solely to the government of the city indicates a message delivered exclusively for them (there would have been sermons for the general public on Easter Sunday, which may or may not have been delivered by Coltellini). Finally, although the preaching of peace was not uncommon and was

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[135] See above, p. 52.

[136] Duncan Nimmo, 'The Genesis of the Observance', *Il Rinovamento del Francescanesimo: l'Osservanza*, (Assisi: 1985), pp. 109-147, at p. 111 pinpoints the essential features of the Observance as established by 1418, and growing and developing from that point.

[137] Not until 1448 was an Observant Franciscan building established within Bologna. This was the small chapel of S. Mamolo, and it was only in 1475 that the Observants moved to a larger location. See Paola Foschi, 'Gli ordini religiosi medievali a Bologna e nel suo territorio' eds. Paolo Prodi & Lorenzo Paolini, *Storia della Chiesa di Bologna*, 2 vols. (Bergamo: 1997), II, pp.463-499, at pp.490-491.

[138] St Francis had himself preached on civic peace in Bologna in 1222-1223, Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 77; Raoul Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi* (Rome: 1980), p. 271.

built upon the theological foundation of serving God's purpose, the ideology of peace was also taken up as a principal political virtue among the communes of Italy.[139]

Indeed, Franciscan preaching on peace had undergone a slow process of transformation over the intervening centuries. Whereas earlier preaching had concentrated on creating peace between rulers and between cities, progressively the focus shifted inward, within the commune itself, between factions, and, by Coltellini's time, even between families and individuals in the same city – a method of preaching peace which would be taken up with great zeal by Bernardino da Siena in the following decades of the fifteenth century.[140] In effect, preaching peace could be said to have become more personalised, and more directly relevant to its audience, or even particular members of an audience.

In similar fashion, the messages of Coltellini's sermons are not derived solely from St Francis' own message of peace (as Cosma has suggested previously for the 1416 sermon) with any contemporary relevance being derived only from the universality of the theme.[141] It is true that Coltellini did not name any faction outright as sowing discontent in Bologna, and, indeed, any such public shaming may well have achieved the opposite of the preacher's intentions to build trust and unity between the factions. Nonetheless, the Franciscan did refer to contemporary events when speaking on peace and unity, whether it was the city's new-found autonomy in 1416, or the political tensions of 1417. The transformation in message between these two years, from one of peace to one of unity, in itself suggests an awareness of the socio-political climate and a resultant conscious shift by the preacher. There is, of course, no doubting that Coltellini's themes of the benefits of concord and the evils of faction were widespread

[139] Dessì, 'Pratiche della parola di pace', p. 309.

[140] Ghinato, 'Apostolato Religioso e Sociale', p. 352; Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, p. 136.

[141] Cosma, 'Giovanni Coltellini', p. 168.

in the first half of the Quattrocento. But the frequency of these themes did not make them any less valuable to governing authorities, since the message retained its contemporary relevance to Italian urban society, whether in Bologna or elsewhere. Moreover, the methods Coltellini employed, such as his heavy reliance on classical authorities, appear unusual – even more so, so early in the Quattrocento – a key factor which is discussed further in Chapter 4.[142]

Coltellini's efforts in Bologna can also be compared fruitfully with other episodes in the Quattrocento involving the preaching of peace sermons, such as the example of Bernardino da Siena in his hometown in 1427. Invited to preach for Lent, Bernardino also delivered a special sermon in the communal palace solely for Siena's governors. Following this sermon, the government resolved to achieve 'peace and unity.' It seems unlikely that the governors were there and then convinced by Bernardino's brief sermon, but it did, much as in Bologna a decade earlier, form part of a larger process of securing stability for the governing authority.[143] The value of the preacher to the process of stabilising and unifying a regime was thus perceived by other communal governments.

Peace sermons and their attendant rituals were not always, however, welcomed by the governing authority. For instance, Giovanni Dominici was expelled from Venice in 1399 (where he had previously enjoyed high favour) after attempting to preach peace unsolicited and unauthorised by the Venetian government, which proclaimed Dominici's efforts as, ironically, a danger to internal peace.[144] In another notable example, Pius II threatened to whip some preachers in 1464, claiming that their

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[142] See Chapter 4, pp. 218-221.

[143] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, p. 206.

[144] Bornstein, 'Giovanni Dominici, the Bianchi, and Venice', esp. pp. 143-153.

sermons on peace and unity in the papal state would only play into the hands of armed gangs and petty tyrants. Dessì, who suggests that the pope was specifically referring to Giacomo della Marca, has speculated that he was anxious that the preaching not hinder his plans for the establishment of family vicariates.[145] What these episodes suggest is that governing authorities could be anxious to control and regulate such preaching, which in itself implies that it could have significant, real impact. It is perhaps no wonder, then, that Bologna's governing elite, anxious to cement their alliances and build firm foundations for their fledgling rule, chose to appoint Coltellini and subsequently allow him to address them with sermons on peace and unity at a critical period in the city's political life.

In summarising her study of the preaching of peace by Bernardino da Siena, Polecritti observed that, 'we should not be dismayed by the gap between the preacher's Christian ethos and the honour code of his audience, nor by his wavering between the civic and personal.'[146] Coltellini's surviving sermons indicate that he was able to bridge this gap between Christian values on the one hand, and the desires of his audience on the other. The sermons demonstrate a skillful interweaving of ideas and ideals with which his audience could relate, from civic ideas of patriotism, internal peace and stability, to the humanist ideals of glory and fame, and the Christian values of working for the common good, in order to bind his audience closer together. Stability and conformity were key for the Bolognese government in this transitional period, and the preacher's sermons demonstrate the promotion of these principles. And though these themes were not always directly linked to contemporary events, it can be surmised that the preacher's knowledgeable audience could

[145] Dessì, 'Pratiche della parola di pace', pp. 306-308.

[146] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, pp. 232-233.

themselves work out the specific conclusions implied. Some *reportationes* show how the recorder and his fellow listeners worked out the relevancy of the sermon to their own situation, as demonstrated by their marginal notes.[147] There is no reason to suggest that Bologna's governing authority would not have related the preacher's words to its own situation.

[147] Delcorno, 'Medieval Preaching in Italy', p. 499; Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la parole*, pp. 104-105.

Chapter 2:

"In the Midst of the Church He Opened His Mouth… and Spoke About the Governing of the Venetians":

Promoting Venetian Government in Occupied Udine, 1446

In 1445, the celebrated Dominican preacher Leonardo Mattei da Udine (1400-1470) was invited to return to his hometown to deliver sermons on feast-days over the course of that year and the next. The power which oversaw rule in Udine at this time, however, was an occupying one, that of Venice, and it was this power which confirmed the appointment of Mattei. Thus, a very different example to that of the previous chapter – both in subject matter and socio-political context – is considered here.

Mattei's sermon for the feast-day of St Mark, which is the primary focus of this chapter, was delivered in support of a government which was not native to the city. This chapter aims to explore the connection between the sermon content, which celebrated Venetian government and promoted certain virtues of nobility, and the contemporary social and political situation, in order to establish the motivation behind the appointment of Mattei and the delivery of this sermon. Ostensibly, Udine was at this time under the firm control of Venice, with administration overseen through its *luogotenente*, but in reality the city's populace lived under a situation of much juristic and administrative confusion. Although promotion of the Venetian republic as an ideal government was not unique – being found both in the sermons of other preachers and in other media – Mattei's sermon holds the distinction of being

delivered in the context of a time and place which was experiencing first-hand the reality of the limitations of that self-same government.

As a result, this chapter will also seek to answer how Mattei went about convincing his audience of the merits of Venetian rule, and which approaches and authorities he employed toward this effort. Furthermore, how the preacher integrated and reconciled this political objective within the religious occasion of the celebration of the life of St Mark will be considered. Finally, how this sermon corresponded with the efforts of Venice to legitimise its rule in Friuli, as well as how it related to (and also, differed from) similar contemporary literature, will be examined.

1. The Itinerant Preacher Comes Home: Leonardo Mattei da Udine (1399-1469)

Leonardo Mattei received widespread contemporary recognition as an eminent preacher and was viewed with great pride in his native Friuli, but conversely has received very little attention from historians of sermons and preaching, despite several sermon collections and numerous other writings having survived in both manuscript and printed editions. This is perhaps due in part to Mattei's status as a Conventual Dominican preacher, rather than being a member of the more often-studied Observant Franciscans. Moreover, Mattei became a more-or-less sedentary preacher after 1446, remaining in the Friuli region and especially in Udine from this date, which equally could have contributed to a decline in his prestige outside of the region.

Born in Udine in 1399, Leonardo Mattei was the son of Matteo, who worked in an official capacity for the commune as the town-crier (*banditore*).[1] Roberto Rusconi has

[1] L. Cinelli, 'Mattei, Leonardo (Leonardo da Udine)', *Dizionario bibliografico degli italiani*, 72 (2009), pp. 163-166; Cinelli points out that Leandro Alberti actually named Belluno as Mattei's birthplace, but gave no reasoning for this, p. 163; Nothing is known of Mattei's mother, though Antonio Bellono

pointed out that the duties of the preacher and the *banditore* could overlap, as for instance can be seen in preachers between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries acting as announcers of crusades against the Turks.[2] Thus, it is possible that Mattei was influenced to some extent, both in his career within the Dominican Order, and in his readiness to interact with communal authorities, by his father's activity. Mattei entered the Dominican Order some time before 1424, when he is found as a master of students in the San Domenico convent in Bologna.[3] Encountering financial difficulties, Mattei was in both 1425 and 1427 granted money by the commune of Udine in order to be able to complete his studies, in the latter case pleading that it would not be possible for him to gain the title of *magister*, despite several years of diligently studying logic, philosophy and theology, without financial assistance, due to his extreme poverty. The commune agreed to subsidise his study costs with the sum of five gold ducats.[4] This is the first recorded instance of Mattei's long interaction

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suggested that she died in childbirth. Antonio Bellono, 'Vitae episcoporum et patriarcharum Aquileiensium', *R.I.S.*, 16, ed. L. Muratori (Milan: 1730), pp. 1-106, p. 66. The DBI entry for Mattei contains much background information, to which can still be added a few additional points, in particular information provided by entries in the 'Cameraria di Comune' of Udine, as well as that compiled by Agostino Bruni, neither of which Cinelli consulted.

[2] Roberto Rusconi, *Predicazione e vita religiosa nella società italiana da Carlo Magno alla Controriforma* (Turin: 1981), p. 152. Rusconi also provides a more prosaic, fourteenth-century example of a preacher acting as a *banditore*, pp. 152-153.

[3] Cinelli, 'Mattei, Leonardo', suggests that Mattei entered the Order around 1413 or 1414, p. 163.

[4] Udine, Biblioteca Civica Vincenzo Joppi, 'Annales Civitatis Utini' (hereafter ACU), vol. 24, f. 245 – *Die Martis vigesimatertia Mensis septembris. In Convocatione. Super propositis per Venerabilem Virem Domini F. Leonardum O. P. Vicem nostrum exponientem, qualiter iam pluribus annis laboravit in Studio civica Logicam, Philosoptiam* [sic]*, et Sacram Theologiam in quibus divino auxilio pervenit ad bonam perfectionem, ex quo habens licentiam Magistrandi, sed propter inopiam et paupertatem eiusdem Domini F. Leonardi idem nequit ad dictum Magisterium pervenire, sive affingere. Qua de re cum instantia suppliantem sibi et sue inopie impendi et dari aliquod parvum auxilium et favorem quo mediante et divina gratia valeat magistrari offerentuem se ad omnia beneplacita et mandata nostre Communitatis. Diffinitum et determinatum fuit quod attentis Virtute sapientia et singularitate dicti F. Leonardi ex parte nostre Communitatis dentur quinque Ducati aurei…*; Agostino Bruni de Domenicani

with the governing institutions in Udine. Not long after, Mattei rose to more prominent positions within the Order, serving as regent for the San Domenico province from 1428.[5] This appointment, which gave to Mattei oversight of an area roughly overlapping the extent of Venice's territorial holdings, may have brought him to the notice of Venetian authorities and helped to establish his reputation in this region.

Mattei's earliest known major preaching appointment came in 1434, when he preached for Lent in Florence at Santa Maria Novella.[6] The Dominican was also called upon to give an impromptu plague sermon at this time in Florence.[7] Following the conclusions of Jussi Hanska, it may well be that Mattei was considered the preacher of highest status in the city at the time, and hence why he was selected to deliver a sermon concerning the current crisis.[8] The following year Mattei was invited to preach in Venice, again for Lent, at the preeminent Dominican church of SS Giovanni e Paolo.[9] This appointment provides another early link between Mattei and the Venetian authorities – a link which has significance in the context of the preacher's sermon for the feast-day of St Mark in 1446. Following the appointment in Venice, Mattei's rise in stature as a preacher was confirmed when he was appointed to

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di Udine, 'Memorie del suo convento', MS Joppi 193, p. 7, details the friar's early study in Bologna, as does Gian-Giuseppe Liruti, *Notizie delle vite ed opere scritte da'letterati del Friuli* (Venice: 1760), p. 372.

[5] He was appointed to this position at the general chapter in Cologne in 1428, and confirmed again at Lyon in 1431, Cinelli, 'Mattei, Leonardo', p. 163.

[6] Cinelli, 'Mattei, Leonardo', p. 163; Some of the sermons survive in manuscript. Leonardo Mattei, 'Sermones floridi de dominicis et quibusdam festis' (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. 121; Vienna, Schottenstift 174) and early printed editions (Lyon 1496, 1498).

[7] Jussi Hanska, 'Late Medieval Catastrophe Sermons: Vanishing Tradition or Common Custom?', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 45 (2001), pp. 58-74, at p. 65.

[8] ibid., pp. 61, 64.

[9] Bruni, 'Memorie', p. 7.

deliver sermons in front of the pope and Roman curia from 1439. In addition, whilst attending the ecumenical Council of Florence, he was asked to write, and deliver, a refutation of twelve proposals approved by the Council of Basle in 1431.[10] The early sixteenth-century notary, and keen supporter of the Patriarch of Aquileia, Antonio Bellono, wrote concerning this period of Mattei's life that the preacher, 'brought salvation to minds corrupted by heresy.'[11] By the following year, Mattei was back in his native Friuli, in the capacity of vicar for Friuli and Istria.[12] Luciano Cinelli has taken this as testimony of the renewed strength of the Dominicans in Friuli following the Venetian conquest of the region.[13]

Six years later, in 1446, Mattei was invited by the commune of Udine to deliver sermons for Lent and for feast-days, of which the latter have survived in both manuscript and several printed editions. Cinelli has stated that the sermons were *composed* in 1446, but several pieces of evidence, both internal and external, point to them also having been delivered publicly in that year.[14] Mattei preached for Lent in Cividale the following year, and also became a promoter for the beatification of a local holy woman, Benvenuta Boiani, who had died in 1292.[15] Although he had remained now in Friuli for several years (becoming vicar of the convent of San Pietro Martire in Udine in 1451), it appears that Mattei continued to be known at the papal court, for he was allegedly offered the position of master of the Sacred Palace, which he declined, in 1452, whilst the following year he was asked to assess some Greek

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[10] Cinelli, 'Mattei, Leonardo', p. 163.

[11] Bellono, 'Vitae patriarcharum Aquileiensium', p. 66 - *Circiter id temporis* [the death of Ludovico di Teck, 1439]*, quo Leonardus Utinensis Frater Dominicanus Romae disputandis mentibus haeresi corruptis salutem attulit*….

[12] Cinelli, 'Mattei, Leonardo', p. 164.

[13] ibid., p. 164.

[14] ibid., p. 164. See below, pp. 104-105, 108-109.

[15] ibid., p. 164.

books which were being sold to the papal librarian in charge of purchases.[16] Mattei appears to have concentrated on producing written works rather than orations during the 1450s, completing several philosophical and practical treatises.[17] The friar continued to inhabit the public sphere however – mainly through his career within the Dominican Order, as in his appointment to the role of provincial minister of the San Domenico province in 1457, a post which he held for eight years.[18] He also delivered an oration in Ferrara in 1457 at the funeral of the humanist and bishop of Imola Gaspare Sighicelli.[19] Mattei moreover maintained contact with communal leaders, such as with those of Cividale in 1456 over the issue of the exchange of some books between convents in Cividale and Udine.[20] In another example, Udine's council requested in 1463 that Mattei compose a treatise in response to the claims made by the Franciscan Giacomo della Marca in Brescia the previous year concerning the divine nature of the blood spilled by Christ while on the Cross.[21] The friar also received a twenty-five ducat contribution from the commune in 1459 to assist with the building of a new library (an endeavour which furthermore attests, not for the first time, to Mattei's bibliophile tendencies).[22] Not much more is known of Mattei after this. He

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[16] Cinelli, 'Mattei, Leonardo', p. 164. The offer of the position of master of the Sacred Palace is however only known from one source, the testimony of Agostino da Aquileia, the representative of the Friuli governors at the papal curia.

[17] ibid., p. 164. In 1453 alone Mattei completed three treatises: the *Tractatus de cambiis* (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VII E. 21, ff. 220r-223v), an intriguing treatise on credit exchange and its moral legitimacy; the *Tractatus de inchoatione formarum* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, J. 10. 48, ff. 2r-20r); and the *Tractatus de mixtione elementorum*.

[18] Cinellli, 'Mattei, Leonardo', pp. 164, 165.

[19] ibid., p. 164.

[20] ibid., p. 164.

[21] ibid., p. 164; San Daniele, Biblioteca comunale, 96 – Leonardo Mattei, 'De divinitate sangionis Christi in triduo mortis effusi'. There also exists a printed edition – Venice 1617.

[22] Cesare Scalon, *Produzione e fruizione del libro nel Basso Medioevo. Il caso del Friuli* (Padua: 1995), p. 521.

died on either 14 or 26 May 1469, at the convent of San Pietro Martire in Udine where he had become prior, bequeathing his extensive collection of books to the convent.[23]

Mattei's career, especially during the 1430s, reflects that of a celebrated itinerant preacher, invited to preach in some of the largest and most-important urban centres, as well as in front of high-status audiences. And although the friar clearly became more sedentary from the mid-1440s, basing himself in the convent of San Pietro Martire in Udine, he continued to enjoy an illustrious reputation as both an orator and an academic in Friuli. Indeed, the sheer quantity of extant material, in both manuscript and printed form, speaks to the high regard in which his work was held in both during his lifetime and in the decades following his death.

Of most concern here is the friar's return to his hometown in the 1440s, after having established himself as a preacher of note. There is evidence to suggest that Mattei had been courted for some time. Udine's council presented the preacher with gifts on 12 May 1440 and again on 14 February 1444, perhaps in an effort to convince the preacher to accept an appointment to preach in his hometown.[24] This period of gift-giving coincides with the return of Mattei to Friuli, in his capacity as vicar for

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[23] *permaxime libros*, as the obituary states. The dates are in question because, while his obituary and the notary Giovanni Vari both give 26 May (Cinelli, 'Mattei, Leonardo', p. 165), an inventory of the books found in his room after his death (Udine, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, MS 485, pp. 211-212) is dated 14 May.

[24] Udine, Biblioteca Civica Vincenzo Joppi, Cameraria di Comune (hereafter CC), vol. 82, f. 97, records payments for a portion of a calf for 52 soldi, six books worth 16 soldi each, and six barrels of wine for 12 soldi, all given to Mattei (*Camerarius expendidit pro medio Vitulo soldos Quinquagintaduos: et pro sex libris confecti de Lucharo in ratione sexdecim soldorum pro libro: et pro sex buciis Vini cum Ingastariis soldos duodecim. Que supradicta omnia fuerunt pro parte nostre Communitatis presentata Reverendo Patri et Sacri Theologie Magistro Leonardo Predicatori Ordinis*); vol. 84, f. 12 - *Capit soldonum unam soldos quatuor Largita Magistro Leonardo Ordinis Praedicatorum*.

Friuli and Istria. Finally, in 1445, the council formally invited Mattei, whose activities were described as bringing great glory and honour to Udine, to preach and give 'public lessons.' Perhaps significantly, the passage twice links Mattei's Udinese origins with the reason for his invitation and stipend.[25] Under this remit, the preacher would go on to deliver the sermon concerning Venetian governance which is the main focus of this chapter.

It may be that Mattei was sought not only due to a reputation built outside Udine (and his connections to Venice, which will be discussed in more detail below), but also due to that same reputation not having been tarnished by recent association with the Church in Udine. This body received severe and apparently legitimate criticism for the mismanagement of its pastoral duties in Udine following the Venetian conquest. This situation was perhaps exacerbated by the end of Patriarchal supervision and its replacement instead by the distant oversight of the papal curia.[26] Indeed, in the same year as the confirmation of Mattei's appointment, the new

[25] ACU, vol. 28, f. 118 - *Die Jovis 28 Januarii in Consilio. In dicto Consilio constitutus honorabilis vir S Augustinus de Burgo Aquileyie, et exponendo dixit qualiter Reverendus Pater et sacre pagine Magister Leonardus O. P. de Utino Vir elegantissimus Predicator solempnis et fame qui ad presens conventialiter moram trahit in hac terra cuius presentiae inspectis eius moribus virtutibus et Vita necnon inspecto etiam quod prefactus*[sic] *Magister Leonardus suam traxit originem in hac terra cedit id maximum deus laudem et honorem huius nostre magnifice comunitatis, et totius serve, et ad non modicam utilitatem et comodum asivorarum*[sic]. *Ad hoc ut materiam habeat nobiscum standi instruendo populum suis devotinimis*[sic] *predicationibus institit et supplicavit eidem provideri de aliquali subsidio, et provisione annua per nostram communitatem.*

Deliberatum fuit et diffinitum quasi nemine discrepante, quod attentiam moribus virtutibus et honesta vita eiusdem Magistri Leonardi nec non ettento quod natus et educatus est in hac Terra quod vidit ad maximam huius Terre laudem, Quod ipse Magister Leonardus habeat habereque debeat annualim quousque aliter sibi provisione de bonis et introitibus de nostri Communis ducatos auri viginti octo Adeo quod teneatur anno singulo quandiu peripiet dictum provisionem predicare precipue tempore Quadragesime, et in festivitatibus solemnibus, necnon legere audientibus in sacra pagina impedimento tamen legitimo semper salvo.

[26] Flavia de Vitt, 'La pieve di Udine e il suo territorio nei secoli XIII-XVI', *Udin. Mil agn tal cûr dal Friûl*, ed. Gian Carlo Menis (Udine: 1983) pp. 91-97, p. 94.

Venetian Patriarch, Ludovico Trevisan, had stripped the cathedral of its pastoral powers, and therefore the prestige and economic gain, by appointing independent borough chaplains to administer the sacraments in Udine.[27] This move resulted in acute tensions between the various ecclesiastical bodies within the town – tensions and continuing criticism with which the formerly itinerant friar Mattei would have had little association.

The remit given was to preach for Lent and for feast-days, and the appointment would last until 1451, a length and scope of service which testifies to the high regard in which Mattei's preaching was held.[28] There is, however, some indication that Mattei, after 1446, was not required to preach for every notable feast-day or for Lent, as he is at times found elsewhere – for instance, as previously mentioned, preaching for Lent in Cividale in 1447. Mattei was paid an annual salary of twenty-eight gold ducats, or 159 lire 12 soldi, for sixty-four feast-day sermons and possibly a Lenten cycle.[29] As a very general comparison, labourers in Venice around this time could expect to earn around ten soldi a day for dawn-to-dusk work, or an annual salary (if not working on holidays) of twenty ducats for 250 days of work.[30] Mattei earned twenty-eight ducats for either sixty-four or – if he did also preach for Lent – around one hundred days of work (not including time spent composing the sermons, which would presumably have been substantial). It should be noted that Mattei would have had access to free room and board at San Pietro Martire, where the sacristy records

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[27] de Vitt, 'La pieve di Udine', pp. 96-97.

[28] Francesco Fattorello, *La Cultura del Friuli nel Rinascimento* (Udine: 1938), p. 43.

[29] CC, vol. 85, f. 13, records a half-year payment of fourteen ducats on 23 March 1446, presumably the first such payment; For exchange-rate values, see Reinhold C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice Volume II: The Venetian Money Market: Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt, 1200-1500*, (Baltimore: 1997), pp. 593-594.

[30] Gino Luzzatto, *Storia economica di Venezia dall'XI al XVI secolo* (Venice: 1961), pp. 234-235.

confirm his stay and identifies that church as the location of his preaching.[31] San Pietro Martire itself was one of the most prominent locations in Udine, being the centre of one of the city's quarters.[32] A picture is thus presented of a preacher who was much sought after by Udine – a famous son come home – whose status, presence and sermons can be surmised to have garnered sizeable and attentive audiences.

2. The Sermon for the Feast-Day of St Mark:

2.1. The Sermones de sanctis *of 1446:*

The printed edition of Mattei's *de sanctis* cycle which is referred to within this study is almost identical in substance to the manuscript copy residing in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence. The sermon for the feast-day of St Mark itself contains no substantial change between the manuscript and printed copies. These printed editions were very probably intended to be distributed as model sermons to assist others in the composition of their sermons. Evidence can be found, however, which suggests that not only did this collection originate from actual preached sermons, but also that the content was not changed significantly.

The cycle consists of sixty-five sermons in total, most of which were for the feast-days of saints, with several others being delivered on other important holy days, such as Easter Sunday and Pentecost. Only the final sermon in the cycle is not actually a

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[31] Udine, Biblioteca Civica Vincenzo Joppi, Ms. Civica 1354, 'Udine Convento S. Pietro Martire'. No foliation, recorded under March 1446.

[32] Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini, 'Udine capitale della "Patria del Friuli". Note sulle istituzioni udinesi durante la dominazione veneziana', *Udin. Mil agn tal cûr dal Friûl*, ed. Gian Carlo Menis (Udine: 1983), pp. 99-109, pp. 107-108. The other centres were the Duomo, the Castello, and the church of San Francesco.

feast-day sermon, but rather an occasion sermon, delivered at the consecration of a new church in Udine dedicated to Peter Martyr.[33] This final sermon provides one of several internal arguments for the delivery – rather than simply composition – of these sermons, as it was intended to be preached at an event occurring exclusively in Udine and at that one particular moment. Other examples of internal evidence of actual preaching include the use of a vernacular Friulan dialect at certain points, rather than being uniformly written in Latin, and the inclusion of information personal to the preacher, such as using himself as an example when seeking to convince his audience that St Martin could have survived solely on bread and water – 'I, Master Leonardo of Udine of the Order of Preachers, in experimenting with this in Germany, came to know it to be the truth, as I have said already in many of the cities of Italy.[34] In addition, the *prologus* to the sermons gives thanks to the 'illustrious Udine nobles' for inviting Mattei to preach in the town, and the *explicit* similarly gives thanks to the nobles of Udine and gives the date 1446.[35] These points, when considered in concert

[33] Mattei, *Sermones*, pp. 865-868 – *In dedicatione ecclesie sancti Petri martiris de Utino*. Given that Mattei delivered his sermons at the church of the Dominican convent of San Pietro Martire, it is reasonable to assume that this church was a new building, extension, or renovation there; Ruth Horie, *Perceptions of Ecclesia: Church and Soul in Medieval Dedication Sermons* (Turnhout: 2006), pp. 15-17, mentions this dedication sermon, suggesting that Mattei's involvement in church affairs could have contributed to the spread of his sermons and other writings.

[34] For instance, the sermon for the Visitation of the Holy Virgin Mary (Mattei, 'Sermones', pp. 555-572, in particular pp. 566-568), contains lines in the Friulan vernacular. See also, Pasquale Natella, 'La Lauda di Leonardo de Utino', *Memorie Storiche Forogiuliesi*, 66 (1987), pp. 252-257, at p. 253; Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 88 - *Obtinavit autem a domino ut quicunque eius vigilia in pane et aqua ieiunaret: perfectam sanitatem pro illo anno impetraret. Et ego magister Leonardus de Utino ordinis predicatorum in Alemania experentia hoc didici fore verum, et in multis ytalie civitatibus idem predicavi. Unde in dicto ieiunio in pane et in aqua, in vigilia sancti Martini: statim cessavit tempestas illa gravissima pestilentie.*

[35] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 7 – *praeclaros nobiles Utinenses*; p. 868 – *Expliciunt sermones aurei de sanctis per totum annum, quos compilavit magister Leonhardus de Utino sacre theologie doctor ordinis*

with the external evidence of Mattei's preaching mentioned above, all mark this cycle as being made up of the sermons which were delivered in Udine in 1446.[36]

The sermons are ordered chronologically from November (1445) to October (1446), with a few exceptions.[37] The sermons can vary significantly in length (another indicator of a lack of uniformity being applied to the cycle in its written form), and this can act as a good clue as to their relative importance, both in the liturgical calendar and to the preacher himself. For instance, the longest sermon is that for the feast of Corpus Christi, followed by those for the founders of mendicant orders, St Dominic and St Francis.[38] The Dominican theologian Thomas Aquinas also warrants a long sermon, as does Peter Martyr – probably owing to the location of the delivery of the sermons.[39]

Mattei employs a traditional thematic structure, beginning with a *thema* upon which the sermon is built. The preacher does not usually break up the *thema* and elaborate on each part individually, but rather discusses the whole from a variety of different viewpoints. With regards to the sermons for saints' feast-days, the general aim of each *divisio* is to prove the holiness of the saint. However, in practice, Mattei ranges widely in his subject matter and the content sometimes appears to have only a loose

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fratrum praedicatorum. Ad instantiam et complacentiam magnifice comunitatis Utinensis, ac nobilium virorum eiusdem. MCCCCXLVI…

[36] See above, pp. 104-105.

[37] For instance, the sermon for the feast-day of San Leonardo is the first, despite being later in the year than the next three sermons. It may be that this was done in order to highlight the link between the preacher and his namesake. The sermons for the Feast of Innocents and for the feast-day of the abbot St Anthony (6 January and 17 January, respectively) which are included before the sermons surrounding the Nativity, rather than after, are two other exceptions.

[38] Mattei, 'Sermones', pp. 442-481, 610-648, 797-831. Thus, thirty-nine, thirty-eight, and thirty-four pages respectively.

[39] ibid., pp. 279-294, 378-399. Thus, fifteen and twenty-one pages respectively.

connection to the saint in question – as is indeed the case for the St Mark feast-day sermon.

These feast-day sermons were delivered in a climate of significant dissatisfaction with the administrative and economic situation in Udine, and, indeed, in all of Friuli – for which the state of affairs in Udine has been considered as reflective, on an urban scale, of the entire region.[40] Venice's attitude toward the region is exposed in the militaristic title for the governor – the *luogotenente* – which serves to illustrate that the Republic's primary use for Friuli was as a barrier against Austria.[41]

Udine itself, although it had never established claims to being an independent city-state, and moreover had traditionally always been secondary to Aquileia and Cividale in the region, nevertheless began to articulate a distinct identity as inheritor and preserver of Friulan culture following the Venetian conquest in 1420.[42] Having made Udine the territorial capital, Venice's presence here was more strongly felt than in the rest of Friuli, and this may have helped in part to foster the emergence of a distinctive cultural identity at a time when its political identity came under the control of Venice. The local governing body, the *Consiglio Civico*, a popularly-elected body of one hundred and fifty patricians, nominally autonomous, actually came under the direct jurisdiction of the Venetian *luogotenente* – who had final approval of all decisions – and the Udinese, like all Friulans, were excluded from the central administration of

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[40] Gian Carlo Menis, 'Udine nel Friuli. Progetto per una storia della capitale del Friuli', *Udin. Mil agn tal cûr dal Friûl*, ed. Gian Carlo Menis (Udine: 1983), pp. 23-37, pp. 23, 27.

[41] Gian Carlo Menis, 'Stato Patriarcale e Stato Veneto: Due Culture a Confronto', *Venezia e il Friuli: Problemi Storiografici*, ed. Amelio Tagliaferri (Milan: 1982), pp.15-19, p. 17; Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta and Factions in Friuli during the Renaissance* (London: 1993), p. xxiii.

[42] Menis, 'Udine nel Friuli', pp. 24-26.

which the *luogotenente* was head.[43] Venice itself perceived Udine as key to its hold on the region, in both political and economic terms.[44] The stability of Venice's political control was, however, indirectly challenged by the endemic rivalry between Udine's urban patriciate and the castellan aristocracy, in which the Venetian administration found itself continually intervening in order to preserve the peace.[45] In addition, Venice's own contradictory policies resulted in administrative disorder. The attempts to remould the traditional political institutions in Udine – the *Consiglio* and the Friulan *Parlamento* – whilst at the same time insisting that they were to be preserved as found, led to a situation where jurisdiction and authority were often either uncertain or challenged.[46] Indeed, the castellan aristocracy took advantage of this situation to exploit the Friulan *Parlamento*, monopolise agricultural industry, and assert their local rights to an extent which stunted the growth and development of the towns,

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[43] Menis, 'Udine nel Friuli', p. 35; John E. Law, 'The Venetian Mainland State in the Fifteenth Century', *Venice and the Veneto in the Early Renaissance* (Aldershot: 2000) (article originally published 1992), pp. 167-168; Giorgio Borelli, 'Intendere lo Stato Veneto "Iuxta Substantium Rerum"', *Venezia e il Friuli: Problemi Storiografici*, ed. Amelio Tagliaferri (Milan: 1982), pp. 45-48, pp. 46-47; The *luogotenente* at the time of Leonardo's appointment was Dolfino Venier. Later in 1446 he was replaced by Mattio Vitturi. A full list of *luogotenenti* of Friuli can be found in Amelio Tagliaferri, *Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma I: Patria del Friuli (Luogotenenza di Udine)* (Milan: 1973), p. lix.

[44] Menis, 'Udine nel Friuli', p. 26. Menis cites, for instance, the statement by the *luogotenente* in 1526, Giovanni Moro, that, 'If Udine is not fortified and if…it happens to fall into the hands of enemies…all the Patria would be lost…Preserving Udine keeps all the rest of the Patria under the dominion of this most excellent state.' (*Se Udene non si fortifica e se per disgratia capitasse nelle man de inimici…tutta la Patria saria persa…Conservando Udene la Patria (tutta) resta sotto il dominio de questo Excelentissimo Stato*…). SeeTagliaferri, *Relazioni dei rettori veneti*, p. 9.

[45] Giorgio Borelli, 'Intendere lo Stato Veneto', pp. 46-47. The documents which comprise the 'Luogetenente della Patria del Friuli' collection in the Venice State Archive are packed with incidents regarding quarrels between the castellan aristocracy and the urban patriciate.

[46] Zorattini, 'Udine capitale della "Patria del Friuli", pp. 99-100, describes the Venetian efforts to preserve these institutions, in particular the *Parlamento*, whilst at the same time transferring much of its authority to the *luogotenente* and the Venetian central authority.

including Udine.[47] Thus, this seemingly straightforward system was thoroughly muddied by the imposition of new governmental and legal institutions and mechanisms by Venice, without the simultaneous dissolution or integration of pre-existing bodies, which continued to function and thus contributed to a situation of administrative and legal chaos.[48] Muir has gone so far as to state that, 'the business of government became so inefficient that Venetian rulership appeared at best arbitrary and at worst grossly exploitative.'[49] Finally, the power whom the Venetians had ousted, the Patriarch of Aquileia, also formerly resident in Udine, added to the political instability by continuing to argue (up until 1445) his pre-eminence over the Venetians and the illegitimacy of their rule. The copious appeals and negotiations with ecclesiastical councils, the papacy, the patriarch, and the emperor, are sound testament to the effort expended by the Republic in its bid to legitimise its governorship of the territory.[50]

2.2. *The Sermon for the Feast-Day of St Mark*

It is notable immediately that whilst there was no sermon for the feast-day of Hermagoras, the patron saint of Udine, his Venetian counterpart, Mark, is blessed with one of the lengthiest sermons in the cycle.[51] This is perhaps suprising when it is considered that the status of Hermagoras as patron saint and symbol of Udine's

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[47] Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, p. 16.

[48] ibid., p. 34.

[49] ibid., p. 57.

[50] See John E. Law, 'Venetian Rule in the Patria del Friuli in the Early Fifteenth Century: Problems of Justification', *Venice and the Veneto in the Early Renaissance*, ed. John E. Law (Aldershot: 2000), pp. 1-22 (article originally published in 1993).

[51] Mattei, 'Sermones', pp. 355-378; Gabriella Brumat Dellasorte, 'Ermacora e Fortunato', *Santi e Martiri nel Friuli e nella Venezia Giulia*, ed. Walter Arzaretti (Padua: 2001), pp. 29-32.

history and moral pride had been heavily promoted since the mid-fourteenth century.[52] Yet, only three other sermons – Corpus Christi, Dominic, and Francis – are of a greater length than the sermon for St Mark.[53]

It is also interesting to note that the first six sermons are of significantly greater length (an average of 17 ½ pages) than the next twenty-six (which are an average of 9 ½ pages in length). This may be an indication of a change in approach by Mattei, perhaps taking into account the attention span of his audience (or perhaps the length of time the sermon took to compose). The length of the thirty-third sermon – that is, the sermon for the feast-day of St Mark – at twenty-three pages, thus stands out even more in its length when compared to the sermons delivered in the weeks and months before. The remaining thirty-one sermons (not including the occasion sermon) are of a longer length on average than the ones preceding the sermon for St Mark (an average of 15 ½ pages), but if the sermons for Corpus Christi, Dominic and Francis (all of which follow the sermon for St Mark) are excluded due to their almost anomalous length, then the average falls to a more comparable thirteen pages. Thus, the length of the sermon for St Mark certainly stands out, which arguably suggests that this was a subject which was either dear to the preacher, or significant to the time and place, or both.

Delivered on 25 April 1446, one reason for the length of this sermon could stem from the importance of St Mark to Friuli. The Evangelist was considered the founder of the Friulan Church and the Patriarchate of Aquileia, who, as Mattei describes, plucked Hermagoras from obscurity and took him to Rome in order to have him

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[52] Menis, 'Udine nel Friuli', p. 34.

[53] The sermon for the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary is of equal length. Mattei, 'Sermones', pp. 662-686.

consecrated as a bishop by Peter.[54] Just as in Venice, then, the feast-day of St Mark was marked with processions and special celebrations in Udine, and it is probable that Mattei could have expected a larger-than-average audience to attend.[55]

Like Mattei's other sermons in this cycle, the sermon for St Mark is composed in a traditional thematic structure. Mattei uses the *introductio* as a short philosophical discussion on the ability to gain knowledge through prophecy or other divine intervention, and how this assisted St Mark in the writing of the Gospel and in the conversion or peoples whilst the Evangelist was in Italy.[56] Thus the sermon begins with a link to the work for which St Mark is best known. Later in the *introductio* Mattei elaborates that St Mark was in the Friulan town of Aquileia when he wrote the Gospel, the words of which were passed to him through divine revelation there rather than through speaking with Peter in Rome.[57] The *thema* around which the sermon is shaped, 'In the midst of the church He opened His mouth,' from Ecclesiasticus 15:5, is employed by Mattei to 'speak' on six different ways in which the holiness of St Mark may be proven. But the sermon stands out because of the particular focus of its

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[54] Ivan Trevisan, 'Santi ospiti in Friuli-Venezia Giulia', *Santi e Martiri nel Friuli e nella Venezia Giulia*, ed. Walter Arzaretti (Padua: 2001), pp. 381-484, p. 384; Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 359 – *Beatus Marcus tanta sapientia effulsit, quae Hermacoram civem Aquilegensem ad fidem Christi convertit, et secum Romam adduxit: ut eum Aquilegie beatus Petrus in episcopum consecraret*.

[55] Giovanni Musolino, 'Feste religiose popolari', *Culto di santi a Venezia*, ed. Silvio Tramontin (Venice: 1965), pp. 209-237, pp. 214-215; Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City-States* (London: 1996), p. 100, notes an episode in 1371 where a town in the Venetian dominion, Treviso, enquired whether the feast-day of St Mark had to be marked with special celebrations and observances, and was answered strongly in the affirmative.

[56] Mattei, 'Sermones', pp. 355-359; Mattei mentions that St Mark wrote the Gospel in Italy on p. 355 – *Conversus ad fidem Christi evangelium in italia scripsit*; The preacher uses a lengthy quotation from Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, I.ii.1 to introduce his discussion on prophecy and divinely-given knowledge, pp. 355-356.

[57] ibid., p. 357 – *Ad se autem reversus memor prioris visionis, mira dulcedine et devotione totus lacrimis profundebatur. Et sic non tam ex auditu a Petro, quae ex clara visione divinitatis et humanitatis Christi, scripsit evangelium in Aquilegia.*

fifth and longest division, which is concerned with elaborating upon Venetian governance, and which does far more to highlight St Mark's link to Venice than it does anywhere else to Friuli or to Udine. Its very distinctiveness in comparison with the rest of the sermon suggests that this *divisio* was inserted with particular designs on addressing a contemporary situation.

2.2.1 Divisions 1-4 and 6 of the Sermon for St Mark

Before moving to an analysis of the *divisio* concerned with Venetian government, it is necessary to describe the rest of the sermon, in order to establish how the fifth division fits – or does not – into the context of the sermon as a whole, and to highlight the differences between this division and the rest of the sermon. Although there exist five other separate subject discussions within this sermon, Mattei keeps them brief. These are concerned with, respectively, disregard of material concerns; contemplation of the highest authority; the conversion of sinners; the endurance of torments; and the success of prayer.[58] Although ostensibly focussed on proving the holiness of St Mark through examples of his actions in these fields, the elaborations also, of course, serve as lessons to the audience on how they should conduct themselves.

The first *divisio* actually contains very little content related to St Mark. Here, Mattei speaks of the sin of unbelief in God, which he compares to other sins, such as pride, avarice, and drunkenness, and demonstrates how unbelief is worse than these. It is worse even than hatred of God, because that hatred is at least born from viewing God as, 'the performer of punishments. But many hate penalties…', rather than a

[58] Mattei, 'Sermones', pp. 360-362; 362-363; 363-364; 364-365; 378.

denial of God's divinity and His rightful rule.[59] It is only at the end that the link to St Mark is made, who is shown to have left the unbelief of the Jews behind when he accepted baptism from Peter.[60]

The second division, which concerns the contemplation of God, again serves mostly to instruct the audience in ways of behaviour which will help them live a pious life, such as abstinence, patience, and compassion. As in the first division, at the end St Mark is brought up as an example of an individual who followed the correct steps to enlightenment. Mattei also uses this opportunity to explain why, 'the notary of the Holy Spirit', as the preacher names him, is represented by a lion: because he was made witness to the passion of Christ, which the lion represents, just as Matthew's human symbol represents the humanity of Christ, and John's eagle the divinity of Christ.[61]

By contrast to the first two *divisiones*, the third – on the conversion of sinners – is almost entirely focussed on St Mark. Mattei describes here how Paul recognised Mark as a great preacher, 'so therefore he desired to have Mark with him, as two lights better illuminated the world.'[62] The second half of this section highlights in brief various chapters of the Gospel of St Mark, in order to illustrate the multiple ways in which this work provides wisdom and enlightenment through examples from the life

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[59] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 361 – *Sexto infidelitas est gravius peccatum quam odium dei…Aliquis autem odit deum inquantum est actor penarum. Sed multi odiunt penas…*

[60] ibid., pp. 361-362 – *Beatus Marcus omnia ista previdens relicta domo et cognatione mundana, atque infidelitate iudeorum, cum beato Petro Romam profectus est…Fuit enim filius beati petri, quia ipsum propriis manibus baptizavit…*

[61] ibid., p. 363 – *Beatus Marcus…propterea factus est testis christi, et notarius spiritus sancti*; *Tercio passio et de hoc testimonium perhibuit Marcus…ideo in figura specie leonis figuratur…*

[62] ibid., p. 363 – *Ideo [Paulus] cupiebat ipsum habere secum, ut tanquam duo luminaria mundum amplius illustrarent.*

of Christ.[63] This new focus on the deeds of St Mark is continued within the next section – on enduring torments. Mattei describes here the various ways Mark was tortured whilst in Alexandria, and compares it to the suffering of Christ.[64] The preacher further verified Mark's credentials as a holy man by detailing the divine and angelic consolation which was gifted to Mark during this time. Included in this is a miracle story concerning Mark's corpse, which was prevented from being burned by the pagans by sudden storms.[65] The fourth division is thus much more in line with a hagiographical work, including as it does moments from the life of St Mark and how these were overcome with divine inspiration and miracles. These entertaining and vivid examples immediately precede the *divisio* on Venetian governance, and it could be argued that there existed a secondary intention to their recital – to regain the audience's full attention just before the beginning of the most significant section of the sermon.

Following the *divisio* on Venetian government which dominates the sermon, there is a final division consisting of only a few lines. Concerning the ability of prayer to bring about miracles, it is almost an extended *clausio* to the sermon rather than a proper division. Mattei divides prayers into four types of intention – temporal, spiritual, to demonstrate the glory of heaven, and those that ask for healing. Each type is accompanied by a corresponding miracle involving St Mark. For example, for

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[63] For instance, Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 364 – *quando christum nos ad humilitatem exemplo pueri exhortantem adduxit, capitulo 9…quando superbiam a mentibus nostris evulsit, capitulo 14…*

[64] ibid., p. 364, Mattei describes four torments Mark endured: dragged through the streets by a rope around his neck; flaying; being covered in blood; solitary imprisonment.

[65] ibid., p. 365 – *nam cum pagani vellent corpus eius comburere, subito aer turbatur, grando exoritur, tonitrua intonant, fulgura corruscant, ita ut quilibet evadere niteretur, et sanctum corpus ibidem intactum reliquerent*.

prayer intended to affect the temporal world, Mattei gave the example of the people of Apulia, who, upon being affected by a great drought, prayed to St Mark and were blessed with rain. All the miracle stories which form part of this division can be found in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*. Thus, the final lines of the sermon serve to bring the focus back to St Mark after a lengthy diversion.

2.2.2. Division 5 of the Sermon for St Mark – Concerning the Governance of the Venetians:

It is immediately notable that this *divisio* is longer in length than all the others combined.[66] As such, it dominates the attention – and intention – of the sermon. Indeed, at twelve pages in length, it is slightly over the average length for Mattei's sermons all on its own. And with a subject matter quite distinct from the rest of the sermon, it can almost be said to constitute a sermon within itself.

Two major themes are addressed within this section, given roughly equal attention in terms of length. Mattei first describes the various types of nobility or noble behaviour, before moving on to elucidate the varying forms of rule, with their attendant advantages and disadvantages. Finally, Mattei ties the two sections together by revealing how the nobility of the Venetians is demonstrated in their governing. The Dominican is ovewhelmingly flattering to the Venetian state and its inhabitants, but also manages to include a more technical description of the system of government which – according to the preacher – is employed by the Venetians. The uncompromising flattery concerning the governing of the Venetians could suggest that Mattei's invitation to preach in Udine was supported by the Venetian authorities

[66] Mattei, 'Sermones', pp. 365-377.

as well as the local elite. Although the invitation to Mattei is recorded as coming from the Udine council, it has been noted that this body could make no decision without the consent of the Venetian *luogotenente*.[67]

The timing of this sermon, and this particular *divisio*, is significant. Ten months earlier, on 10 June, 1445, Venice had finally reached an agreement with the Patriarch of Aquileia, which restricted the latter's temporal jurisdiction to the small towns of San Daniele and San Vito and ended the long-running feud over who held a legitimate right to rule Friuli (a settlement made easier by the installment of the Venetian Ludovico Trevisan as the new Patriarch).[68] The following April witnessed the first feast-day of St Mark – the spiritual founder of the Patriarchate – under these new conditions, and it was an event marked by a sermon which firmly linked the saint to Venice rather than the Patriarchate.

Mattei began this section by celebrating the great honour bestowed on all of Italy by the translation of the body of St Mark from Alexandria to Venice, giving direct credit to the Venetians themselves:

> …blessed Italy, whose wealth was brought about by the treasure of this body. For the Venetians, considering the great renown, transferred the honour of his [St Mark's] body to Venice, where they built a wonderful church of great beauty in his name.[69]

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[67] Law, 'The Venetian Mainland State', pp. 167-168.

[68] Law, 'Venetian Rule', pp. 16-17; Bellono, 'Vitae patriarcharum', pp. 91-97 contains a copy of the document. Bellono also describes how Venice blocked the appointment of an Aloisio da Padua to succeed Ludovico di Teck, and that it was under these conditions that the pact of 1445 came into being, p. 66.

[69] Mattei, 'Sermones de sanctis', p. 365 – *Beata es o Alexandria triumphali huius sanguine purpurata. Felix et tu ytalia corporis huius thesauro dives effecta. Nam Veneti corporis huius dignitatem pro grandi nobilitate cogitantes ipsum Venetias transtulerunt, ubi ecclesiam mire pulcritudinis eius nomini fabricaverunt*. The first sentence is based upon lines from a sermon by Peter Damian for the feast-day

This serves as a laudatory introduction to the *divisio*, after which Mattei describes how he will proceed. As, 'the Venetians wished to ascribe the nobility and honour of Venice to holy Mark', thus two things must be ascertained,

> 'first, whence nobility is taken. Second, whether the government of the Venetians derives dignity from the way it is administered by the nobles and most prominent members of the city.'[70]

Thus, the preacher establishes both the link between Mark and Venice, and that he intends to explore the extent of the influence of the former's qualities on the latter's style of governance. Mattei's audience was not held in any suspense with regards to which side the preacher's opinion on the Venetians might fall, for he immediately comments that Venetian nobles are said to be the best of nobility.[71]

Although Mattei's discussion of the types of nobility contains little explicit reference to Venetians (the link is instead saved for the conclusion to the sermon), it does contain strong clues as to the makeup of the preacher's audience for this sermon. Mattei begins by identifying three types of nobility, starting with nobility of birth, 'the most unimportant and material, and…that is common to all.'[72] The preacher employs Seneca – whose writings he uses regularly throughout the sermon, usually quoting from the *Epistulae Morales* – to prove the irrelevancy of illustrious lineage, which 'the flight of time…has jumbled together, and Fortune has turned upside down.'[73]

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of St Mark, which Mattei acknowledges. See Peter Damian, *Opera Omnia*, 4 vols., ed. Constantin Cajetan, PL 144-145 (Paris: 1853), 145, pp. 572-580, p. 580.

[70] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 365 - *Et quia nobilitatem et dignitatem suam Veneti a beato Marco denominari voluerunt, ideo circa hoc videnda sunt duo. Primo unde sumatur nobilitas. Secundo Utrum regimen Venetorum sumat dignitatem eo quod per nobiles et primarios sue civitatis administratur*.

[71] ibid., p. 365 – *Primo videndum est unde sumatur nobilitas, a qua premaxime Veneti dicuntur nobiles*.

[72] ibid., p. 365 – *minima et materialis, et haec est nobilitas sanguinis quae omnibus est communis.*

[73] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 365 – *Omnia ista longa varietas miscuit et sursum deorsum fortuna versavit*. See Seneca, *Epistulae Morales Ad Lucilium,* V.xliv.

Instead, through Seneca, Mattei endorses a variant definition of 'well-born' as a predisposition from birth toward virtuous acts.[74] The Dominican next turns to titled nobility (*nobilitas formalis*), on which he deliberates in similar fashion to noble birth (unsurprisingly, as he once again quotes Seneca to illustrate his opinion). Mattei's aim is to convince his audience that a noble lineage is worthless in making one noble if it is not complemented by virtuous deeds performed by the individual themselves in the present day. Mattei encapsulates this by saying, 'no past life has been lived to lend us glory, and that which has existed before is not ours.'[75]

This introduces the third type of nobility – on which Mattei spends the most time – which consists of a mixture of the first two but crucially also includes the imitation of the virtuous deeds of ancestors.[76] Again, this is broken down into three sub-types: The first is the rise to nobility through virtuous deeds, for which Mattei gives the examples of both ancient kings of the Romans who had risen from a low station and biblical personages who had achieved the same.[77] Secondly, those who already had noble ancestors but also carried on their example.[78] And thirdly, those who possess illustrious ancestors but have themselves degenerated into conducting evil deeds.[79]

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[74] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 365 – *Quis est generosus? Ad virtutem bene a natura compositus.*

[75] ibid., p. 366 – *Nemo in gloriam nostram vixit, nec quod ante nos fuit nostrum est*. See Seneca, *Epistulae*, V.xliv.

[76] ibid., p. 366 – *Tercia est nobilitas ex utraque composita, quae consistit virtuosorum parentum imitatione*.

[77] ibid., pp. 366-367 – *Primum genus est eorum qui sua virtute et rebus se clare gestis domum dignificantur honore*. Mattei makes use of Valerius Maximus' 'Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium', III.4 for the descriptions of the ancient Roman kings, and Saul and David as the biblical examples, from 1 Samuel 9 and 1 Samuel 17, respectively.

[78] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 367 – *Secundum genus nobilium est eorum qui a progenitoribus suis nobilitatem accipiunt quam tamen claris rebus a se gestis illustrant*.

[79] ibid., p. 367 – *Tercium genus nobilium est eorum qui illustres sanguine a progenitoribus relinquuntur a quibus morum perversitate degenerant*.

This section on true nobility, while by itself it does not appear to provide much significant or unusual material, does help to identify Mattei's audience as most probably being composed of the elite of Udine's populace. For, despite making a statement such as, 'if there is any excellence in the nobility of birth, it is this alone – that it would seem to impose upon the nobly born the obligation not to degenerate from the virtue of their ancestors,' the suspicion that Mattei's target audience was firmly made up of a noble class is further strengthened by the preacher's somewhat contradictory insistence that nobility does indeed also contain either title, rank, or celebrated lineage, in addition to being defined through certain behaviour. Even those who are low-born – such as Mattei's examples of the origins of Roman and biblical kings – rise to recognised noble stations through their virtuous deeds. Although Mattei emphasises the need to act virtuously, nevertheless the impression is given that it is not enough to conduct yourself honourably in order to be considered noble in the true sense – there must also be a form of official recognition. This is made clear by Mattei's account of the third and best type of nobility – the imitation of virtuous ancestors – which is described as containing within it the first two types – namely, lineage and title. Moreover, St Mark is also described later as having been, 'a true noble, because he was descended from noble progeny, namely that of Levi…'[80] The Venetians themselves are described by the preacher as having both, 'nobility of the blood and of the mind.'[81]

Whilst the second half of this *divisio* is more obviously designed to promote the Venetian state, the first half can equally be argued to serve the purpose of promoting Venetian interests. Whereas the latter half promotes the perfection of Venetian

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[80] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 369 – *Beatus Marcus tanquam vere nobilis, quia de nobili progenie scilicet levitica ortus*.

[81] ibid., p. 370 – *Nobilitatem sanguinis et animi*. 'Mind' appears a better contextual fit than 'soul'.

governance, the first half feeds into Venetian attempts to promote closed, oligarchic forms of local government which mirrored that of Venice in the communes within the *terraferma*. Although Mattei highlights the need to act in a noble way, it is his insistence on the necessity of birth and title which is the significant factor. Neither the Udine *Consiglio*, which was elected on a popular basis, nor the Friulan *Parlamento*, which embraced a popular element, were closed political bodies, and both admitted members from the non-established upper class. The impetus behind the encouragement to change such a system was twofold: the Venetian ruling class found the forming of relationships of patronage with local government was facilitated if they were dealing with the provincial noble classes; and simultaneously, it also eased the infiltration and integration of elements of the Venetian nobility into areas of local government within the territories.[82] Indeed, native Udinese patricians may not have formed the only element of the audience, as just such an infiltration had begun to occur by this time in the Friuli ruling class.[83]

The second half of Mattei's discussion of nobility proves more directly connected to St Mark. Here, the preacher describes the six virtues - magnanimity, free will, courtesy, restraint, manly benevolence, and generosity – which any noble man must possess. As was the case with the previous section, this serves as both general advice which could be delivered in any Italian commune, and at the same time holds particular relevance for Venetian rule in Udine, both through the link to St Mark and through the contemporary socio-political context.

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[82] Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, p. xxiii.

[83] Gino di Caporiacco, 'Il dominio veneziano e la mancata formazione di una classe dirigente Friulana', *Venezia e il Friuli: Problemi Storiografici*, ed. Amelio Tagliaferri (Milan: 1982), pp. 31-34, p. 33.

That these virtues were all held by St Mark is made clear in two ways. First, Mattei employs the name-as-praise technique more commonly associated with humanist laudatory oration by using the letters of St Mark's name to identify the necessary virtues.[84] Second, the preacher includes a short example from St Mark's life which illustrates the virtue in question at the end of each description. These *exempla* are invariably taken from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea.* In some cases the *exemplum* has only a very loose connection to the virtue being discussed. For instance, because the description of magnanimity is taken from Thomas Aquinas (although Mattei actually references Aristotle, Aquinas' source, instead), who ends the section with an explanation of humility, the *exemplum* from the life of Mark ends up depicting the saint's humility, rather than his magnanimity.[85]

Seen within the context of belligerence between the native ruling class of Udine, the Venetian governing body, and the castellan aristocracy, in addition to the aim of this *divisio* to laud the governance of the Venetians, Mattei's description of the virtue of free will takes on a new dimension. The Dominican, following Cicero, opines,

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[84] Mattei, 'Sermones', pp. 368-370: [*M*]*agnitudinem seu magnanimitatem;* [*A*]*rbitrii libertatem*; [*R*]*ecognitionis affabilitatem*; [*C*]*oactionis refrenabilitatem*; [*V*]*irilem benignitatem*; [*S*]*trenuam liberalitatem*.

[85] ibid., p. 368 – 'magnanimity makes him tend toward perfect acts of virtue…On the other hand, humility makes man think little of himself in consideration of his own deficiency. Holy Mark was full of humility, so that he had his thumb amputated, lest he be prompted to priestly order by human judgement…' (*magnanimitas facit que ad perfecta opera virtutis tendat…Humilitas autem facit que homo seipsum parvipendat secundum considerationem proprii defectus. Beatus Marcus tante fuit humilitatis, ut pollicem sibi amputaverit, ne ad ordinem sacerdotii posset humano iudicio promoveri*). The description of magnanimity is taken from Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, II.ii.129.

> 'What then is freedom? The ability to live as you wish. But who then lives as he wishes? The one who pursues upright things, who rejoices in duty, who doesn't obey the laws out of fear, but follows and cultivates them…'[86]

Within the political context, it can be argued that the audience is here urged to cooperate more effectively with the ruling power and the implementation of laws and regulations.[87] This is evinced further by Mattei's inclusion and description of manly benevolence and restraint as two other necessary virtues. With regards to the latter, Mattei encourages his audience to rein in personal feelings and to save angry retaliation for external enemies, 'for the sword is given to soldiers who ought to use it against enemies of the state…What is a more perfect specimen of men than those who look on themselves as born for the assistance, the protection, and the preservation of others?'[88] The preacher also provides the example of St Mark obeying the authorities of Alexandria, despite knowing that it would lead to his death, because such action would prove beneficial to many, regardless of the personal cost to himself.[89] With regards to the former – manly benevolence – Mattei urges calm rationality and a patient outlook when he chastises that, 'it is not seemly for a noble to have a woman's

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[86] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 369 – *Quid est libertas? Potestas vivendi ut velis. Quis autem vivit ut vult? Qui recte vivit, qui gaudet officio, qui nec legibus quidem propter metum paret, sed eas sequitur et colit…*; See Cicero, *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, V.36.

[87] On problems with law in Udine, see Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, p. 67.

[88] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 369 - *Nam militibus datur ensis quo uti debent in hostes patrie… Quae melior in hominum genere natura, quam eorum qui se natos ad homines iuvandos et conservandos arbitatur*. The latter half is a quote taken by Mattei from Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, I.xiv.

[89] ibid., pp. 369-370 - *Beatus Marcus cum in Alexandria procurasset salutem omnium, audiens quae sacerdotes templorum ei insidias paraverant, mortem pro fide Christi sustinem non recusavit, sed ultro se obtulit, tanquam sacrificium mundum et acceptabile deo ut fideles in fide Christi confirmarentur, et infideles a vi sue coactionis refrenarentur*.

madness, but he should have manly gentleness and clemency.'[90] The preacher's focus on virtues which emphasise calm and reflection over more evident and brazen activity find their opposite counterparts in the near-endemic rivalry in Udine amongst the urban patriciate, and between this group and the castellan nobility – a situation exacerbated by the inefficiency of the justice system which contributed to vendetta becoming the main means by which to resolve conflict.[91] The reality of this situation is reflected in the severe punishments – including death – for even minor cases of violent reprisal which were enshrined in the Udine statutes confirmed by the Venetian government in 1425.[92]

Mattei's description of the six necessary virtues, which ends the first half of this *divisio*, is crucially concluded with the words, 'as far as those six qualities, the Venetians, under the banner of holy Mark their helmsman, both observed and observe [still], as is seen in every individual.[93]' The preacher thus leaves no one in doubt as to how the Venetians will be portrayed within this sermon. Their actions are represented as illustrative of the virtues which Mattei promotes, and they are thus raised by the celebrated and popular preacher as an example for the native nobility to follow. If there were members of the Venetian noble class present in the audience, as was quite possible, then these had been singled out by Mattei as the examples which his fellow

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[90] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 370 – *Nam non decet nobilem feminea rabies, sed virilem mansuetudo et clementia*.

[91] Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, p. xxiii.

[92] Trevor Dean, 'Marriage and Mutilation: Vendetta in Late Medieval Italy', *Past and Present*, 157, (Nov. 1997), pp. 3-37, at p. 9-10, highlights the generally harsh attitude taken towards revenge-killings in the statutes of north and central Italian towns – an intolerance which has been masked in scholarly works on the subject by the more lenient attitude displayed in Florence's laws.

[93] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 370 - *quo ad istas sex proprietates Veneti sub vexillo beati Marci sui gubernatoris et observaverunt et observant, ut patet per singula*.

Udinese in the audience should imitate. This approach continues into the introduction to the second half of the *divisio*, as Mattei promises to show his audience how great the rule of the Venetians is, first by outlining the types of government, before indicating which is the best form, and consequently the category into which the government of the Venetians can be placed.[94]

Mattei proceeds by outlining the three classic forms of government – the rule of one, the rule of a few, and the rule of the many – and spends time assessing each one's advantages and disadvantages, embellishing each one with *exempla* taken from classical sources, such as Cicero and Seneca (with only one biblical reference, taken from the Book of Samuel and in reference to Saul). Mattei relies heavily in this section on Cicero's *De officiis* as an authority and a source for *exempla* for all three forms of rule, and to a lesser extent on Seneca's *Epistulae morales* for the rule of the many (specificially for this source's negative attitude towards this form of rule). Other authorities are interspersed infrequently, such as Valerius Maximus, Sallust, Isidore of Seville, and Thomas Aquinas – the last unreferenced.

Mattei's evaulation is not entirely objective, for the preacher states halfway through that, 'between these types of governments the first [the rule of one] is the best.'[95] Mattei proceeds to give four short reasons for this: because it reflects divine rule; the natural order; justice and laws are more easy to apply; and because there is no chance of dissent amongst the ruling parties. Indeed, Mattei spends far more time expounding upon this form of rule than the others, especially in relation to the rule of the many, on

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[94] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 370 – *Quantum ad regimen Venetorum videnda sunt tria. Primo quot sunt species principandi. Secundo quae istarum est perfectior et virtuosior. Tercio in qua illarum specierum est regimen Venetorum*.

[95] ibid., p. 371 – *Inter istos principatas primus est optimus*. Mattei's possible reasons for promoting the rule of one before switching to a promotion of a mix of all three forms of government are discussed further in Chapter 4, pp. 252-253.

which, by contrast, he expends only a few lines and even fewer positive viewpoints. To the preacher, the rule of the many requires, 'a certain rectitude of governance through which to direct themselves', and is essentially only useful as a temporary measure by which to topple corrupt regimes, after which rule should be handed back over to one of the other forms, as, 'it cannot be supposed that such a government could sustain itself in rightfulness for a long time.'[96]

The preacher's description of the rule of the few (*optimorum et nobilium*) is the one which most closely aligns itself with the local governance of Udine prior to the Venetian conquest, and may have been the one with which his audience identified. Concerning this form of rule the preacher says that, 'it is lacking in comparison with the first, in which only one is put in charge, but surpasses and is more perfect and better than the rule of the people.'[97] Mattei's weighing of the advantages and disadvantages of this form of rule is remarkably similar to his earlier discussion of the necessary noble virtues, in that the Dominican stresses that this form of rule can only work through absolute unity, and emphasises the virtue of such a united condition.[98] The friar also describes the signs which illustrate that such government had been

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[96] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 371 - *ideo requiritur in eo quedam rectitudo regiminis…*; p. 374 - *Aliquando tamen contingit populum melius regere quam unum vel paucos, quid tunc maxime contingit quando populus qui est pacis avidus diu sustinuit regimen tyrannicum, per quod gravatus et expoliatus mortuo vel eiecto tyranno, dominium sibi policie usurpat. Et quamdiu facta tyrannica in memoria populi habentur, tamdiu potest esse talis principatus secundum virtutem, maxime si aliquorum prudentum consiliis innitatur. Non tamen putandum est tale regimen diu posse in rectitudine susistere: populus enim rudis est, potius passionum impetum sequens, quam ratione utens, et ideo necesse est tandem ipsum perverti in perniciosa scandala et ad multas insanias devenire.*

[97] ibid., p. 373 – *Secundus principatus scilicet potestas optimorum et nobilium regentium secundum virtutem deficit a primo, in quo unus preficitur, sed superat et est perfectior et melior quam principatus populi*.

[98] For instance, Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 373 – *Cum enim optimates bonum rei publice attendunt: faciliter in unum conveniunt: ac per hoc unitatem pacis in pollicia conservant, et quamdiu in bono communi conveniunt, tamdiu legalis observantia sub eis principantibus viget*.

corrupted – for instance, when, 'men do not shrink from shedding the blood of those for whom they ought to shed their own. Every man thinks himself to be in a mean and degraded position if he has not raised himself above the constitution.'[99] Mattei therefore uses this opportunity once again to promote to his audience the value of a state of unity amongst the nobility, in addition to providing a warning as to how a disunited and fractious ruling class might be accused of being corrupt and self-serving. In this manner, the preacher could provide an indirect warning to his audience. Similarly, the celebration of Venetian governance which follows could also serve as indirect chastisement of his audience, by holding up an example within which Mattei's audience was not included within (but had the unique opportunity to become so).

To an extent a contradiction exists within Mattei's discussion of the forms of government, for, despite at several points stating that monarchy was the preferred form of rule, the preacher concludes his discussion of forms of government with the revelation that, in fact, an amalgamation of all three is the best.[100] This assertion introduces the purpose around which the sermon has been set up – the perfection of Venetian governance. Although this conclusion mirrors that of Thomas Aquinas' on the subject – the preacher, however, uses his own words rather than repeating those of Aquinas – the main motivation appears rather to have been the wish to promote Venetian government, which Mattei subsequently identifies as being exactly this 'most perfect' mixture of all three forms of rule.[101] After briefly outlining his reasons

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[99] ibid., p. 374 – *sanguini eorum non parcitur pro quibus sanguis fundendus est, humili se ac depresso loco putat stare quisquis non supra rem publicam stetit* (See Seneca, *De beneficiis*, V.xv.4).

[100] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 375 - *ideo perfectissimum regimen est, quid ex tribus supradictis integratur*.

[101] See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, II.i.105.

why a mix of all three is the best – namely, that the entire citizenry have a degree of vested interest in the proper functioning of the state whilst ensuring it is the best men who rule – Mattei proclaims that, 'among all the states of Christianity, the state of the Venetians comes closest to replicating this most perfect government.'[102] That the preacher would draw parallels between the two is actually hinted at a little earlier. During the summary of what exactly is meant by an amalgamation, after stating that, 'if some wise men among the people choose from among themselves princes or prefects, and these further put in charge one to reign', he then chooses to elaborate that the one who is put in charge is, 'namely, the Duke' (rather than, for example, the Prince), thus immediately calling to mind the Venetian title for the state figurehead, the Doge (*dux*).[103]

The laudatory piece which follows is an unreferenced incorporation of a section of a treatise on the four cardinal virtues originally written by the thirteenth-century Dominican Henry of Rimini (d. ca. 1314). The section formed a digression to Henry's treatise in which he presented Venice as being the ideal of mixed government. Dennis Robey and John Law have argued that this work was influential in the evolution and propagation of the 'myth of Venice' as the ideal state in the fifteenth century.[104] Possibly in an effort to assist his listeners in understanding the governmental framework of the power under which they found themselves, Mattei includes Henry of Rimini's detailed explanation of the structure of Venetian government:

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[102] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 376 - *Inter omnes autem pollitias Christianorum, pollitia Venetorum ad hoc regimen perfectissimum appropinquat*.

[103] ibid., p. 375 - *Si ergo aliqui in populo sapientiores ab ipso in principes vel perfectos eliguntur, et hi ulterius unum in regem preficiunt videlicet ducem qui tam eis quam populo praesit*.

[104] David Robey & John Law, 'The Venetian Myth and the "De Republica Veneta" of Pier Paolo Vergerio', *Rinascimento*, 15 (1975), pp. 3-59, at pp. 11-13. In the sermon for the feast-day of St Mark, Henry's text can be found on pp. 376-377.

…around four hundred are given over from the nobility – from honourable people – to the public council, and by these ones a few prudent men are chosen to select their leader. And these men choose another from their nobles, whom they then place in charge of all as duke [Doge]. But along with the aforesaid Doge thus elected from the nobles, these distinguished men call upon six others, who they call counsellors and who, just as if they were the *anziani* of the people, govern the state.

Nor do these who rule the city with the Doge remain for ever, but instead are elected at appointed times to the aforesaid council or senate (*anziani*) offices through election by all, and thus whomever is elected to the aforesaid council has some say in state affairs…For inasmuch as one is the governing leader of all, it can be called a kingdom. Inasmuch as a few distinguished men choose the selfsame leader, and with him they themselves rule the state, namely, by being elected to this at various times, it can be called a government of the best men. Truly, inasmuch as the aforesaid distinguished men of the duke, the electors of the counsellors or 'anziani' are chosen by the whole council, to some extent the people of the state participate in rule. For there are, in the aforesaid council, not only noblemen, but also many well-respected men of the people.[105]

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[105] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 376 – *Nam in ea circiter quadringenti tam ex nobilibus, quam ex honorabili populo ad consilia publica admittuntur, per quos aliqui prudentiores in creatione sui principis eliguntur. Et hi aliquem ex suis nobilibus eligunt, quem in ducem omnibus preficiunt. Predictus autem dux sic a maioribus electus una cum sex quos consiliarios vocant, et quos quasi populi antianos habent, pollitiam gubernat. Nec hi qui cum duce civitatem regunt, idem semper permanent, sed singuli de consilio statutis temporibus ad predicta officia consiliarie vel antianarie per electionem omnium assumuntur, et sic quilibet de predictis ad consilium electis partem aliquam habet in pollitia…Nam inquantum unus omnibus est prefectus regimen regni dici potest. Inquantum vero aliqui maiores ipsum ducem eligunt, et cum ipso pollitiam regunt ipsi videlicet alii diversis temporibus ad hoc electi,*

Furthermore, this description, whilst applying to Venice, was of relevance for the Udinese not only because they were under Venetian rule, but also because Venice was, as stated earlier, increasingly endeavouring in this period to alter local structures of power, especially in Udine, so as to reflect better the traditional oligarchic system of Venice.[106] Mattei's sermon served much the same function aurally as did the winged lion of St Mark visually, which Venice insisted replace local symbols of government in the cities they conquered.[107] However, these attempts did not achieve the level of success they had in other cities, such as Vicenza, Brescia, and Verona, where access to council seats became closed. Election to the Udine council, on the other hand, remained on a popular basis – so it is notable that Mattei had also had little good to say about popular government within this sermon.[108]

Ultimately, the description of Venetian governmental structure is an unusual tack in comparison to the rest of the sermon – or, indeed, his approach in other sermons – in that this description does not employ the standard preacher's repetoire of *auctoritas*, *exemplum*, or *ratio* in order to give support to his words. Indeed, the entire section of this *divisio* which refers specifically to Venetians and Venetian governance stands out from the more standard structure and content which the rest of the sermon evinces, thus betraying its wholesale adoption without revision from Henry's earlier treatise not intended for public preaching. The employment of a procedural description here lucidly conveys how the Venetian system reflects the 'most perfect' form of

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regimen optimorum dici potest. Inquantum vero predicti maiores ducis electores consiliarii videlicet a toto consilio eliguntur, aliquid de pollitia populi participat. Sunt enim in dicto consilio non solum maiores nobiles, sed etiam multi de populo honorabili.

[106] Menis, 'Stato Patriarcale e Stato Veneto', pp. 17-18. See above, pp. 111-112.

[107] Edward Muir, 'Representations of Power', ed. John M. Najemy, *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance 1300-1550* (Oxford: 2004), pp.226-245, at p. 236.

[108] Giorgio Borelli, 'Problemi di assetto della Repubblica e il processo di chiusura dei ceti dirigenti a Venezia e in Terraferma', *Venezia e il Friuli*, pp. 21-24, p. 23.

government. Moreover, rather than comparing the Venetian state to ancient or scriptural *exempla* in order to prove its worth, the preacher allows the Venetian state itself to act as the *exemplum*, and therefore raises it above all other states, ancient or contemporary. The only authority cited to endorse the claim that this was the most perfect form of government comes from divine law – a brief reference to Deuteronomy – which marks a significant shift from the previous heavy reliance on classical authorities.[109] Thus, no temporal authority or state is equated with Venice. The intention is not to show why or prove how Venetian governance is without compare, but only, through lengthy description of the benefits enjoyed by the citizenry, that it was so, and thus should be followed.

As mentioned, once Mattei moves on to speak of the Venetians directly, the tone becomes unabashedly laudatory, in stark contrast to the earlier due consideration given to both advantages and disadvantages of various forms of rule. The Venetian people are portrayed as profitting politically, economically, morally, and spiritually not only from their form of government, but also from their dutiful attitude toward governance and law. The Venetian people, 'profit by much peace and security', which, 'no one, plotting division, has ever managed to drive out from there'.[110] Indeed, violence of any kind is anathema to Venice, a theme which is repeated throughout this section:

> No one is an invader of another's home. All are safe. Murder or the spilling of human blood either is never or rarely heard of there…nor also are agreements

[109] Deuteronomy 1:13 – *Date ex vobis viros sapientes et gnaros quorum conversatio sit probata in tribubus vestris ut ponam eos vobis principes*, was cited as showing that the ideal of mixed government was instituted in divine law.

[110] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 376 – *Haec autem Venetorum gens tanta pace ac securitate fruitur, quae nullus unquam inde intuitu partis expellitur*.

> made to hire mercenaries…they are kind to the poor…They do not have inhumane and irregular crimes.[111]

These statements serve to recall the preacher's earlier words on the virtues which illustrate nobility – virtues of non-violence, of introspection, reflection and kindness. Simultaneously, demonstration is amply given for the preacher's earlier statement that the Venetians, more than anyone else, embody these virtues. The loyal and obedient nature of the Venetians when the well-being of their state and its laws is concerned is equally highlighted throughout, and likewise acts as an example – in the context of the sermon's delivery – to follow in order to reap the same benefits. Thus, all Venetians are so mindful of the laws that,

> the Doge himself is restricted to the observance of the statutes….common law is not followed, but instead they live according to their own statutes…They are most loyal to the Republic, which each one of them desires to keep in opulence and glory.[112]

Mattei here skillfully illustrates the preacher's art of assimilating texts from earlier periods and situations into the contemporary context. Once again, the Venetians are shown as benefitting from conducting themselves with a set of behaviours different from their Udinese counterparts, but ones of which the Udinese were now fortunate enough to have the opportunity to be directly a part.

Mattei subsequently assures his audience that the state repays this loyalty and obedience to the laws by, in turn, protecting its citizenry, 'with great liberties and

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[111] Mattei, 'Sermones', pp. 376-377 – *Nullus alieni habitaculi est invasor. Secura sunt omnia. Homicida vel humani sanguinis effusiones aut nunquam aut raro ibi audiuntur… nec etiam mercenario pacto conductus… Pauperibus sunt benefici… Inhumana et enormia crimina non habent*.

[112] ibid., pp. 376-377 – *Ducem vero quem sibi constituit tanta statutorum observatione coartat… Leges communes non sequuntur sed secundum statuta propria vivunt… Fidelissimi sunt reipublice, quam unusquisque in opulentia et honore tenere studet*.

singular immunities,' including expending great effort at protecting any of its subjects who find themselves oppressed elsewhere, 'with either ducal letters…or through threats of retaliation.'[113] The great benefits for Venetian citizens are thus made clear, providing a lesson not only in the wisdom of adhering to the laws rather than in following the local custom, but also in the wisdom of modelling their form of government on the Venetian example. Moreover, Mattei also provides his, non-Venetian, audience with assurances that affiliation and cooperation with the Venetian state would also accrue them various benefits, both social and economic:

> Arrivals and refugees are all protected there. No one is an oppressor of another…No man is permitted to be placed under another, as they rejoice in the highest liberty…Food is imported from many regions, and the same goods they bring from remote parts they transfer to many provinces…Convenient to businesses is this wonderful type of polity...[114]

The endorsement of the economic benefits of trade with and under Venetian governance was particularly pertinent for this region of the *terraferma*, which brought in the lowest net profit of all its territories in the mid-fifteenth century, despite its considerable size.[115] Venice sought to change this by specifically encouraging and

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[113] ibid., p. 377 – *magnis libertatibus et singularibus immunitatibus conservat et tuetur. Siquis in aliena patria gravatur, mox curam adhibet, sive ducalibus scriptis, sive nunciis publicis, seu represalliarum terroribus, ut eum a gravamine liberet*.

[114] Mattei, 'Sermones', pp. 376-377 – *Advenientes et profugi ibi tuti servantur. Nullus alterius oppressor… Nulli hominum subdi patitur dicta gens, summa gaudens libertate… Victualia a multis regionibus eis deportantur, et ipsi merces quas a remotis partibus deferunt ad multas provincias transmittunt… miro modo politie negociis accommoda*, *nec tamen a iure aliena.*

[115] Luzzatto, *Storia economica di Venezia*, p. 212. The incomings and outgoings for 1464 of Venice's mainland holdings show that Friuli brought in the second-lowest income (7500 ducats), whilst expenditure on administration of the territory for the same year was 5330 ducats. The net profit of 1170 ducats is significantly lower than the next-lowest, that of Crema and Cremasco (3500 ducats). In comparison, Brescia brought in 59,500 ducats.

promoting Udine's economic rights over those of the castellans, who wielded great power over trade in Friuli (and whom they could not control as closely).[116] The ability of Venice to assist others is further underlined when the preacher remarks that the Republic, 'keeps safe and protects both its citizens and the *popolo*.'[117] This statement is, moreover, located at the end of the section and forms its climax. As a consequence it may have had a greater impact on the collective consciousness of the audience than if it had been moved by the preacher to an earlier point. Venice is thus presented as both a model to emulate and as a benevolent and beneficial power under which the Udinese would thrive – so long as they showed the same obedience and loyalty to the state which Venetian citizens illustrated.

Mattei ends the *divisio* with the exclamation, 'Behold! How excellent is the governance of the Venetians!'[118] The preacher left his audience under no illusions as to both the main objective of this *divisio*, the sermon as a whole, and the conclusions which should be reached from hearing it.

3. Conclusions:

With this sermon, Mattei sought to reform the image of Venetian governance as being inefficient and exploitative of Udine. Moreover, the sermon also pushed for a change in the mentality of the local nobility, and sought to promote changes in the structure of local government which would draw it closer to the Venetian model and which had already been implemented in other towns of the *terraferma*. It is quite possible that

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[116] Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, p. 37.

[117] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 377 - *Sed et ipsa respublica, suos cives etiam plebeios, magnis libertatibus et singularibus immunitatibus conservat et tuetur…*

[118] ibid., p. 377 – *Ecce Venetorum gubernationem quam eximiam.*

the particular focus of the St Mark feast-day sermon in 1446 was also influenced and prompted by the official legitimisation of Venetian rule in Friuli ten months earlier. There is past precedent for the feast-day of St Mark being employed to mark a political event rather than to celebrate the saint specifically. For instance, a procession was held in Treviso on this feast-day – but to commemorate the takeover of the town by Venice in 1342 rather than celebrating the saint himself.[119] The timing, however, of this speech in favour of Venetian governance – during the feast-day of St Mark – also bound the saint firmly to Venice and her fortunes whilst marginalising his patronage of the Friulan Church and further weakening any lingering calls for the the Patriarch of Aquileia – who drew his spiritual authority from St Mark – to resume his claims for a legitimate entitlement to govern the region.

The first half of the *divisio* on Venetian governance describes the identifying marks of nobility and its necessary virtues, and thus reflects the Venetian preference for dealing with local government composed of an element of society with which they could form relationships of patronage.[120] Gradually over the course of the fifteenth century, the *Consiglio Civico* of Udine did become progressively more restricted to the members of noble families in the city, thus emulating to some degree the Venetian example promoted by Mattei, though it also continued to maintain a popular element.[121] In the end, this minimal change seems not to have been deemed enough, as all sovereign power was taken from the local government in Udine by 1513.[122]

Whilst the propagation of a 'myth of Venice' has long been recognised, there has been lengthy debate on when its particular characteristics can be said to have

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[119] Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, p. 119.

[120] Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, p. xxiii.

[121] Zorattini, 'Udine capitale della "Patria del Friuli"', p. 103.

[122] ibid., p. 103

solidified into a recognisable form, and by when the extent of its promotion reached the level of mass public consciousness. Mattei's sermon for the feast-day of St Mark provides evidence for an earlier establishment than sometimes argued. Franco Gaeta, for instance, argued that elements of the myth could only be classified as marginal until the later fifteenth century, reaching a popular status following the War of the League of Cambrai in 1508-16.[123] Although Mattei's sermon just about fits into this chronology, the main source the preacher employed, the treatise by Henry of Rimini, does not. Mattei's use of this work indicates a keen familiarity with it, as the section of the treatise praising Venice forms only a side note to the purpose of the work.[124] Moreover, Gaeta recognised Donato Giannotti and Gasparo Contarini in the sixteenth century as first promoting the idea of Venice as an ideal of mixed government, which Henry of Rimini's treatise and its subsequent use by Mattei contradicts.[125] Indeed, that the myth of Venice as the ideal state was already reaching the level of popular public consciousness is suggested both by Mattei's sermon and near-contemporary oratory dealing with similar subject matter. For instance, the humanist Domenico de' Domenichi gave an oration in praise of Venice in remarkably similar tones to Mattei three years later.[126] Bernardino da Siena had also been full of praise for Venice's stability and strict laws in several sermons.[127] However, Mattei's sermon is more than solely a standard promotion of an ideal state. Rather, it had a particular relevancy to

[123] Franco Gaeta, 'Alcune considerazioni sul mito di Venezia', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 23, 1 (1961), pp. 58-75, p. 63.

[124] Indeed, it is interesting to note that when Archbishop Antonino da Firenze employed Henry's work in his *Summa Theologica*, he used everything *except* the section on Venetian governance, which he cut. Howard, '"You Cannot Sell Liberty"', p. 225.

[125] Gaeta, 'Alcune considerazioni sul mito di Venezia', p. 64.

[126] Martin F. Ederer, *Humanism, Scholasticism, and the Theology and Preaching of Domenico de' Domenichi in the Italian Renaissance* (Lewinston: 2003), p. 42. On interaction between Mattei and Domenichi, see Chapter 4, pp. 234.

[127] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 67.

the context within which it was delivered. The central interest in promoting Venetian governance did not lie with the preacher (as in the case of Bernardino in Florence) but with the governing authority itself, which had a personal investment in seeing a positive image of its rule and the promotion of its particular political and economic interests put forward in that location. Venice had a direct involvement in Udine's civic affairs, and Mattei's sermon can be said to have been part of a process to 'rehabilitate' the opinion of Venetian rule in Udine, as well as legitimising its authority to govern the region (which had always been questioned) through an advertisement of its beneficial effects.

Finally, the identity of the preacher appointed to deliver such a sermon is highly significant. Leonardo Mattei was a celebrated native of Udine who had carved out an illustrious reputation for his preaching at home and abroad, and had, moreover, prior links to the Venetian central authority through his previous appointment to preach for Lent in Venice. The preacher was not only a trusted voice in Udine, but one who also had absolute command of the local dialect. His was a voice of local (as well as spiritual) authority, one more likely to attract a large (or important) audience, and who could be more assured of gaining its attention.

Chapter 3

"I understand, glorious prince, your high regard for the virtue of justice"

The Dominican and the Duke in Ferrara, 1460

This chapter investigates the relationship of preaching and government from an initial premise which diverges from that of the previous chapters. First, fifteenth-century Ferrara exhibits a third type of government and political situation. The signorial rule of the Este family in Ferrara differs from the coalition of factions in Bologna and the foreign governance of Udine not only in the form of government, but also in its relative stability and popular support. Sermons in support of a governing authority have most often been highlighted in periods of crisis.[1] This chapter, on the other hand, explores the nature of the support a preacher could, and did, also offer in a period of no immediate crisis (as in Bologna), or even long-standing threat (as could be argued for Udine). In the specific context of Ferrara, this support was manifested in the propagation of a certain type of ideal rule explicitly linked to the virtue of Justice – with which the Este ruler, Borso (1413-1471, *signore* from 1450) was also vigorously working to link himself.

Second, this chapter also focuses on how the preacher – in the guise of the conventual Dominican Tommaso dai Liuti da Ferrara (c.1420-c.1481), may have attempted both to gain favour with the ruler and call upon the assistance of the secular authority in order to further his own causes.[2] The exploration of this aspect highlights

[1] See Introduction, p. 18.

[2] The birth date is calculated from the rule that friars had to be at least forty years of age before they could attain the position of inquisitor, which Liuti became in 1462 (Antoine Dondaine, 'Le manuel de

the potential of a mutually beneficial relationship. An analysis and comparison of the friar's three surviving works, examined within the context of the courtly and governmental institutions of Ferrara, form the heart of this chapter. Two of Liuti's works were intended for the court and *signore* of Ferrara, and another, a Lenten cycle of sermons, was delivered at the Cattedrale della Madonna delle Grazie e San Giorgio. The analysis will primarily focus on this latter work, from which a sermon concerning the State (*res publica*), preached on Palm Sunday in 1460, is of particular interest here. In addition, the earliest of Liuti's written works, a treatise on good governance dedicated to Borso d'Este, raises – and helps to answer – several contextual questions which may help to shed further light on Liuti's decision to preach on the topic of the State. First, what was the nature of Liuti's relationship with Borso d'Este? What were his motivations in writing the treatise and intentions for it? And lastly, did the content of this work relate to the preacher's sermons?

1. Tommaso dai Liuti and His Works:

1.1. Background and Career:

Tommaso dai Liuti was a friar of the conventual community of San Domenico, a prominent institution in Ferrara due to its links to the Studio and to the favour that Dominicans enjoyed under the Este.[3] Niccolò III d'Este had founded the Dominican convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, and this was where members of the Este family

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l'inquisiteur (1230-1330)', *AFP*, 17 (1947), pp. 85-194, at p. 167). Nothing is known of Liuti after 1481.

[3] On San Domenico, see *Chiese e monasteri di Ferrara: Devozione Storia Arte di una città della fede*, eds. Alberto Guzzon & Paola Poggipollini (Ferrara: 2000), esp. pp. 47-48; Giuseppe Cenacchi, *Tomismo e Neotomismo a Ferrara* (Rome: 1975), pp. 30-31.

were later interred, whilst they also continued to show patronage to the older San Domenico convent.[4] The Liuti themselves were a distinguished Ferrarese family, present in the region from at least the thirteenth century, and usually associated with the ruling House of Este.[5] In the friar's own time, two notable jurists, Antonio and Alberto dai Liuti, were also practicing their trade in Ferrara.[6] In his *Historia Almi Ferrariae Gimnasi*, the eighteenth-century Ferrarese writer Ferrante Borsetti described Liuti as a noted theologian, philosopher, celebrated orator, and composer of various sermons.[7] The friar indeed appears to have been continually active throughout his adult life both within and outside his Order. He was present at the general chapters of Novara in 1465, Rome in 1468, and Avignon in 1470, and attended the latter two chapters as the provincial prior for San Domenico, an area which can be roughly equated to the Veneto region and the Este territories.[8] Within Ferrara itself, Tommaso is known to have taught theology and canon law at the Studio. He appears to have been especially active there between 1465 and 1478, when his name crops up on diplomas of graduation.[9]

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[4] Charles Rosenberg, *The Este Monuments and Urban Development in Renaissance Ferrara* (Cambridge: 1997), p. 49.

[5] Ferrucio Pasini Frassoni, *Le famiglie medioevali Ferraresi* (Bari: 1899), p. 24, notes a 'Zacharia de Leucis' as an Este vassal between 1262 and 1283.

[6] ibid., p. 24. The Liuti coat-of-arms was a gold griffon holding between its talons a silver lute against a red background.

[7] Ferrante Borsetti, *Historia almi Ferrariae gymnasi in duas partes divisa*, 2 vols. (Ferrara: 1735), II, p. 367.

[8] 'Acta capituloroum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum vol. III. Ab anno 1380 usque ad annum 1498', ed. Benedict Maria Reichert, *MOPH*, 8 (Rome: 1900), pp. 298, 300, 320. In each instance, he was described as a diffinitor (as well as provincial prior at Rome and Avignon), but this title was given to all attendees at a general chapter. See G. R. Galbraith, *The Constitutions of the Dominican Order 1216 to 1360* (Manchester: 1925), p. 38.

[9] G. Pardi, *Titoli dottorali conferiti dallo studio di Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI* (Lucca: 1900), pp. 45, 46-47, 64-65, 68-69. Cenacchi, *Tomismo e neotomismo*, pp. 43-44, notes Liuti's activity at the Studio,

From 1462, when he succeeded Antonio da Alessandria, Liuti also became the inquisitor-general for the San Domenico province, with overall responsibility for the inquisitors and investigations in his province, and held this office for the next twenty-three years. An extant inquisitorial procedural manual which bears Liuti's autograph narrows his jurisdictional concentration to, 'specifically Ferrara and Modena and their dioceses', the principal seats of Este power.[10] The Ferrarese chronicler Bernardino Zambotti (fl.1476-1504) likewise described Liuti as the inquisitor-general for Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio in 1476.[11] There is very little record of Liuti's activity as inquisitor-general, a dearth which could be explained in several ways: first, he may have considered the role mainly as an honorific. Liuti's extant preaching, however, provides evidence of the friar's extensive knowledge of heretical movements and unorthodox worship, and suggests that he took his inquisitorial responsibilities seriously.[12] Liuti may also therefore have employed deputies and delegated responsibilities to them; or, finally, it may be that records of activity have simply not survived. The one notice which has done so is found within Zambotti's chronicle, where it is recorded that on 24 March 1476, Tommaso condemned a certain Vincenzo d'Ambrosio di Lendinara for using magical incantations.[13]

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but also appears to confuse him with an earlier Tommasino da Ferrara, despite citing Thomas Kaeppeli, 'Tommaso dai Liuti di Ferrara e il suo "Declaratorio"', *AFP*, 20 (1950), pp. 194-212, who pointed out this error in Jacques Quétif & Jacques Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1719), I, p. 700.

[10] Dondaine, 'Le manuel', p. 168 – *frater Thomas de ferraria ordinis predicatorum…inquisitor heretice pravitatis….specialiter in ferraria et mutina et in suis diocesibus deputatus…*

[11] Bernardino Zambotti, 'Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504', ed. G. Pardi, *R.I.S.*, XXIV.vii.2 (Bologna: 1937), pp. 1-359, at p. 28.

[12] See below, pp. 159-160.

[13] Zambotti, 'Diario ferrarese', p. 28 – *Il reverendo maestro in theologia, maestro Thomaxo Dai Liuti, frate de San Domenico, conventuale, Inquisitore Zenerale de Lombardia e de Ferrara e de Moden e de Rezo contro li heretici christiani perfidi, dette la infrascripta sententia, sedenti pro tribunali in la*

It should be noted, in view of the focus of this chapter on Liuti's preaching in Ferrara, that the Dominicans established a clear link between the ability to preach and the successful performance of inquisitorial duties. The Dominican general chapter of 1401 in Udine called for the dismissal and replacement of all inquisitors who were held to be unable to preach effectively.[14] That this was put into effect is suggested, for instance, by the fact that in 1479 an inquisitor in Bergamo, Giovanni da Gandino, was dismissed from his post on the grounds that his ill health prevented him from preaching.[15]

Liuti was eventually succeeded as inquisitor-general in 1481 by Giovanni Rafanelli da Ferrara, under noteworthy circumstances. By means of a papal bull, Liuti was dismissed from the post in a manner which was not normal procedure (dismissal normally being handled by the Dominican master-general), and which suggests that the friar did not go willingly.[16] Indeed, his replacement Rafanelli appears to have ascended to the position through the support of Duke Ercole I d'Este, who favoured the new man.[17] This successful intercession by the duke in an ostensibly internal

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camera sua come vicereggente del vicario del veschovo de Ferrara contra il perfido christiano Vicentio di Ambroxi[o] da Lendenara presente e intelligente: lo condennò per più e diverse cause, maxime per havere commesso più sceleritade contra li sacramenti de la chiesa e de la fede, le quale disse per honestà lassare sotto scilentio, essere inmitriato e menato circum circha al cimeterio de la chiesa. E lo bandì da la cità de Ferrara cum questo ch'el sii in soa libertade insino che serà fora del territorio nostro, a ziò il non pervenga in le mano de zudexe seculare. E se reservò potere procedere contra epso quando per alchun tempo capitasse in questa cità. Et poi fu conduto in prexone, facta dicta condennatione, me presente e altri.

[14] 'Acta capitulorum generalium', p. 107 – *Iste sunt absolutiones…Omnes alios inquisitores in quibuscumque provinciis, qui sufficienter non sciunt proponere verbum dei.*

[15] Michael Tavuzzi, *Renaissance Inquisitors: Dominican Inquisitors and Inquisitorial Districts in Northern Italy, 1474-1527* (Leiden: 2007), p. 19.

[16] ibid., p. 18.

[17] Rome, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori, Santa Sabina, IV, reg. 6, f. 33r - *Magister Zanettus Ferrariensis fuit authoritate apostolica de speciali mandatu Sixti IV institutus inquisitor in*

Dominican matter suggests a need for the inquisitor-general to hold the favour of the Este ruler, and there is further evidence provided by Liuti's own works which suggest that he had attempted to earn such favour with Ercole's predecessor Borso. The friar's career as inquisitor-general thus provides a key frame for understanding both Liuti's motivations and his relationship with the Este court.

1.2. Literary Works:

To judge from his surviving literary works – the *Trattato del modo di ben governare* and the *Declaratorio* – Liuti appears to have either maintained a presence at the Este court during the reign of Borso, or at the very least aspired toward this.[18] The earlier work, the *Trattato*, is a short vernacular piece (with quotations from authorities in Latin) which survives in a single autograph manuscript, now held at the Biblioteca Trivulziana in Milan.[19] The work was edited by Alfredo Acito in 1950.[20]

The *Trattato* was dedicated to Borso d'Este, and is known to have become part of the ducal library.[21] As is apparent from its full name, the *Trattato* discusses the factors – or rather, virtues – necessary for good governance, and fits into the genre of mirror-for-princes works. Although it bears no date, Borso is referred to at various points as

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civitatibus Ferraria et Mutina et earum districtibus et terminis, et fuit absolutus magister Thomas, eodem mandatu Pontificis, qui dispensavit cum magistro Zanetto super aetate minori quadraginta annorum, et ipse Papa etiam oraculo vive vocis postea confirmavit dictum inquisitorem (18 July 1481). Quoted in Tavuzzi, *Renaissance Inquisitors*, p. 17.

[18] Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores*, p. 700, ascribed several other works to Liuti, but these appear instead to have belonged to a fourteenth-century Tommasino da Ferrara and the French Dominican Guillaume de Pierre Godin (Kaeppeli, 'Tommaso dai Liuti', pp. 195-196).

[19] Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, cod. 86, ff. 1-29.

[20] Tommaso dai Liuti, 'Trattato del modo di ben governare', ed. Alfredo Acito, *Trattato del modo di ben governare: Opera inedita del secolo XV di Tommaso di Ferrara* (Milan: 1950), pp. 41-76.

[21] Bianca Bianchi, *Ein Bolognese Jurist und Humanist: Bornio da Sala* (Wiesbaden: 1976), p. 23.

both *duce* and *marchese*. Borso gained the title of duke – of Modena and Reggio – in 1452 (thus dating the *Trattato* to no earlier than this), whilst the additional titalature of *marchese* suggests that he was still Marquis, rather than Duke, of Ferrara (a title which he did not gain until 1470).[22] In addition, Liuti is identifed only as *sacrae theologiae professor*, and not also as inquisitor-general, which suggests that the work cannot be dated later than 1462. Rosenberg suggested a date of around 1469 for the composition of this work, but gave no reasoning as to why.[23] It seems more likely that the *Trattato* was composed at some point between 1452 and 1462.

Alfredo Acito believed that the work was a reflection on the condition of Italy and was intended to persuade the duke to attempt to unite the peninsula under him and thus bring about peace and order.[24] However, though the theme of Borso as a unifier was a recurrent motif in contemporary literature due to the duke's apparent willingness to support a new crusade against the Turks, it can be argued that this was not the particular purpose of Liuti's *Trattato*.[25] Whilst the friar does briefly mention that the governments of Florence and Venice are not as worthy as Ferrara's under Borso, he never mentions the possibility of Borso becoming the head of an Italian

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[22] For instance, the treatise begins with a dedication to Borso which reads: 'To the most glorious and excellent princely duke Borso Marchese d'Este and count of Reggio, from the friar Tommaso da Ferrara, professor of sacred theology of the Order of Preachers, a short work in the vernacular.' (Liuti, 'Trattato', p. 43 – *Ad gloriossismum et excellentissimum principem Ducem Borsium marchionem Extensem atque Rodigii comitem fratris Thome de Ferraria sacre theologie professoris, ordinis praedicatorum breve vulgare opus*); Werner L. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara: The Style of a Renaissance Despotism* (Princeton: 1973), p. 129.

[23] Rosenberg, *The Este Monuments*, p. 106.

[24] Acito, *Trattato*, p. 11.

[25] Annalisa Battini, 'La cultura a corte nei secoli XV e XVI attraverso i libri dedicati', *Gli Estensi. Prima Parte – La Corte di Ferrara*, ed. Roberta Iotti (Modena: 1998), pp. 279-345, at p. 297. Several works on the topography of Jerusalem were also dedicated to Borso, presumbaly because of his links with a new crusade (ibid., p. 300).

principate, as Acito implies.[26] There is a single mention of 'our Italy' by Liuti, but this is placed in the context of celebrating the preeminence of Ferrara over other cities:

> From the great and immortal God your Excellency was bestowed with the glorious principate, for the preservation and augmentation of the state and the glory of this our most noble city, more splendid than all the others of our Italy.[27]

Instead, the *Trattato* was arguably written with the same intention of most mirrors-for-princes works – to bring the author to the attention of the subject and elicit some form of favour of patronage, and may also bear testimony to amicable relations between the Dominican and the Duke. Liuti is highly flattering to Borso throughout, for instance introducing the treatise with laudatory praise for its recipient:

> My most singular prince, considering your principate and rule of a state which is not small, but great and glorious, given to your excellency through divine grace…It is better for one alone to rule. This is my conclusion, celebrated prince, not through adulation, but through pure and sincere truth.[28]

The *Trattato* bears similarities to the type of princely writing which would flourish under the humanists from the middle of the fifteenth century.[29] The main content of the treatise can be divided into three parts: First, Liuti espoused the reasons in favour of a monarchial regime such as the Este rule of Ferrara. In the second and longest

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[26] Acito, *Trattato*, p. 11.

[27] Liuti, 'Trattato', pp. 51-52 – *Al quale il Principato glorioso la tua excellentia dal magno ed immortale Idio e' stata sublimata per conservatione ed augmentatione de la repubblica et gloria di questa nobilissima citade splendore de tute le altre de la nostra Ytalia.*

[28] ibid., p. 45 – *princeps mi singularissime considerando el principato e guberno particulare de la republica non pico ma magno et gloriosos per gratia divina concesso a la tua excellentia…meglio è da uno si glia gubernata. Questa mia conclusione, inclite princeps, non per adulatione alchuna, ma per pura et sincera veritade…*

[29] Peter Stacey, *Roman Monarchy and the Renaissance Prince* (Cambridge: 2007), p. 5.

section, the friar instructed Borso on the function of laws and the principal virtues, such as justice, generosity, and clemency, which a prince should possess – focussing above all on the virtue of justice. The friar found all these virtues to be already residing within Borso. Finally, Liuti reflected on what made, 'true and perfect happiness', concluding that this was brought about by living a virtuous life.[30] Unlike the friar's other works, the *Trattato* does not cite or mention any contemporary or near-contemporary individuals, save the duke himself and a single mention of Cosimo de' Medici.[31] References to the works of Aquinas and Thomistic thought in general feature throughout the work, with the *prologus* to the *Trattato* beginning with praise of Aquinas and his, 'most splendid teaching.'[32] Also highly prominent are references to Aristotle, Augustine, and a host of classical authorities, such as Cicero, Seneca, and Valerius Maximus.

Liuti's was not the only such work to be addressed to Borso. The poet Gaspare Tribraro, for instance, extolled Borso as a wise and virtuous ruler, restorer of peace and the golden age of man.[33] Likewise, Antonio Cornazzano wrote a long poem between 1465 and 1466, in which he praised Borso for upholding the virtue of justice. In this instance, the motivation is not hard to discern – Cornazzano was at the time in severe danger of losing his patronage at the Milanese court and was on the lookout for

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[30] Liuti, 'Trattato', pp. 45-53 – Forms of government and the primacy of monarchial rule; pp. 53-71 – Laws and virtues; pp. 71-75 – True happiness.

[31] The mention of Cosimo occurs during Liuti's discussion of what brings about perfect happiness. When explaining that money could not rid one of defects, the friar gave the example of Cosimo, the wealthiest man, for whom all the treasures he possessed could still could not stave off the effects of gout. ibid., p. 72 – *non sono sufficiente a rimovere ogni nostro diffecto ut patuit in quello prestante et celeberimo huomo Cosma de medicis ditissimo quale cum tutti i suoi thesori lo difecto de la podiagra da lui non pote scaciare…*

[32] ibid., p. 45 – *cognosco vere per splendidissima doctrina…angelico doctore san Thomaso.*

[33] Battini, 'La cultura a corte', p. 296.

a new patron.[34] As well as being addressed to princes, many such works were received by them – as already mentioned, Liuti's *Trattato* could be found in the ducal library.[35] Moreover, though the friar was quite proficient in Latin, he had chosen to write the work in vernacular. Borso is known never to have learned Latin, and thus the *Trattato* was written in a manner understandable to him.[36] The theme of Borso's munificence and his upholding of justice is particularly highlighted in these works – including in Liuti's own. The friar opines,

> O how glorious is that state where the prince is a lover of justice!...Truly the city of Ferrara is a most holy kingdom which the immortal God has bestowed to you, most just prince! And if only, most devout prince, other princes would become imitators of your clemency…I understand, glorious prince, your high regard for the virtue of justice .[37]

Whilst it was not unconventional for a discussion of justice to appear in mirrors-for-princes works, its centrality to Liuti's work, and the amount of space the friar afforded it, parallels its importance to the public image which Borso was constructing for himself.[38] In concrete terms, Borso created a Consiglio di Giustizia, a new court of

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[34] Battini, 'La cultura a corte', p. 297. Cornazzano's work was entitled *De excellentium virorum principibus ab origine mundi*. There is also Ludovico Carbone's *De VII litteris huius nominis Borsius*, which related each letter of the duke's name to a different virtue beginning with that letter – the motivation being that Carbone wished to gain permission from the duke to spend a night with a certain Francesca Fontana (ibid., p. 297).

[35] Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought,* Vol. I: *The Renaissance* (Cambridge: 1978), p. 517.

[36] Gundersheimer, *Ferrara*, p. 113.

[37] Liuti, 'Trattato', pp. 60-61 – *O quanto è gloriosa quella patria dove il principe è amatore de la iustitia…Vere illa regna beata cità de Ferrara a cui lo immortale Idio de tanto iustissimo principe te ha sublimata! Et utinam, princeps mi devotissime ti altri principi fusseno imitatores de la tua clementia…cognosco, princeps gloriose, la tua celsitudine per la virtude iustitia…*

[38] Battini, 'La cultura a corte', p. 297.

appeal.[39] Many visual depictions were also produced which linked the duke with Justice. Most famously, the image of Justice was connected to Borso in one of the 'Schifanoia Months' frescoes at the Palazzo Schifanoia. The depiction for the month of March shows Borso listening patiently to the petitions of his subjects, whilst the word *Iustitia* was inscribed below a bust of the duke.[40] Despite the apparently stable tenure of his reign, Borso was technically a usurper, as his predecessor Leonello had nominated his own son Niccolò di Leonello as successor, whilst Ercole and Sigismondo were also legitimate children of Niccolò III – which Borso was not. Indeed, Borso had to contend with a notable attempted conspirary led by Pio da Carpi.[41] It is probable that Borso's attempts to depict himself as the ideal ruler and synonymous with Justice were at least in part driven by the wish to provide his rule with a legitimate basis.[42] Liuti's *Trattato*, then, both flattered Borso's public image and promoted its links to justice. Indeed, though not unique in its focus, it is quite possibly the earliest such treatise addressed to Borso. With a possible composition date as early as 1452, it is not clear whether the *Trattato*'s extended deliberation on Justice and the good ruler was inspired by the Este lord's own preoccupation with this link, or whether perhaps the work itself influenced Borso to some extent. Indeed, Rosenberg has previously identified a connection between the virtues with which

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[39] Gundersheimer, *Ferrara*, p. 144.

[40] Paolo D'Ancona, *The Schifanoia Months at Ferrara* (Milan: 1954), pp. 17-18; See also Charles Rosenberg, 'The Iconography of the Sala degli Stucchi in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara', *Art Bulletin*, 61, 3 (Sept. 1979); Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 445; idem., 'Trattato', p. 69 – *quelli che hano a consigliare per la republica, sint antiqui, perchè in quilli regna la prudentia*.

[41] See Antonio Capelli, *La Congiura dei Pio, Signori di Carpi, contro Borso d'Este, Marchese di Ferrara, Duca di Modena e Reggio* (Modena: 1864).

[42] Rosenberg, *The Este Monuments*, p. 106.

Borso wished to represent himself and the political virtues emphasised in Thomist thought – to which Liuti was a clear adherent.[43]

Liuti's other extant work, the *Declaratorio*, can also help to shed further light on the friar's interactions with Borso and the Este court.[44] Like the *Trattato*, this work survives in a single manuscript copy. According to the prologue, the *Declaratorio* was presented by the friar to the ducal counsellor, and former *fattore generale*, Prisciano Prisciani.[45] The explicit dates the work to 1470, the very end of Borso's reign.[46] Only a few years after its composition, the *Declaratorio* was taken to the library of Ferdinando Colombo in Seville, where it remains.[47]

The *Declaratorio* is a theological discourse which takes the form of a master-student dialogue between Liuti and Prisciani.[48] Prisciani is given the 'student' role, and voices his questions and doubts on a range of theological and moral issues to the 'master', Liuti, who supplies the answers. On rare occasions, the roles are reversed, with Prisciani instead giving the answer – although even in these instances, Liuti

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[43] Rosenberg, *The Este Monuments*, pp. 102, 104, 106.

[44] Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, Ms. 7-7-5 (hereafter ms. 7-7-5). This text was investigated by Kaeppeli, 'Tommaso dai Liuti e il suo Declaratorio', pp. 201-212.

[45] ibid., f. 1r – *Declaratorio de Fra Tomaso dai Leuti da Ferrara, professo in theologia, del ordine de li predicatori et Inquisitore, Al Magnifico & generoso cavaliero Messer Prisciano de Prisciani da Ferrara, de lo Illustrissimo Duca Borso consigliero secreto*. The first folio also contains a drawing of a Dominican friar giving a book to a knight, presumably Prisciani. In the background the Prisciani coat of arms is depicted – a black fleur-de-lis (See F. Pasini Frassoni, *Dizionario storico-araldico dell'antico ducato di Ferrara* (Rome: 1914), p. 449); The significance of Prisciani's former role as *fattore generale* will be explored below, pp. 180-181.

[46] Ms. 7-7-5, f. 305v – *Amen. 1470. 25 Julii*.

[47] Kaeppeli, 'Tommaso dai Liuti', p. 201.

[48] For medieval dialogue works, see Eileen Sweeney, 'Literary Forms of Medieval Philosophy', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (online edition, 2008). http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/medieval-literary (consulted December 2011).

offers the last word. Often, the discussion was intruded upon by other courtiers and members of the Este family, who each weighed in with their own opinions and questions. The text deliberates on numerous subjects, such as the nature and consequences of sin, contrition, confession, indulgences, the ten commandments, the seven cardinal sins, the twelve articles of faith, hope and charity, the four cardinal virtues and their opposing vices, prophecy, miracles and prayer, predestination, angels and demons, and creation.[49]

The work appears designed to clarify theological thought and practice. As Liuti has Prisciani say in the opening, the discussion is motivated by a desire, 'to remove the false opinions of Plato and other gentile philosophers, who wanted the world to be without any origin.'[50] Further, the friar explains in the prologue that Prisciani requested that Liuti write this work, in order to, 'clear some sincere doubts from his [Prisciani's] conscience.'[51] Thus, the *Declaratorio*'s subject matter belongs amongst the numerous manuals of confession produced during the Middle Ages for similar purpose, though it differs from the majority of these stylistically, in that Liuti chose to construct it in the form of a dialogue.[52]

Kaeppeli speculated that whilst the doctrinal content of the discussions was not novel (as with Liuti's other works, the friar relied heavily on the writings of Aquinas),

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[49] Ms. 7-7-5, ff. 2r-73r (nature of sin, contrition, confession, indulgences); 73r-155v (ten commandments); 155v-195r (seven cardinal sins); 195r-262r (twelve articles of faith); 262r-264v (hope and charity); 264v-279v (four cardinal virtues); 279v-300v (prophecy, miracles, prayer, predestination, angels and demons, creation).

[50] ibid., f. 2r – *lassare le false opinione platonice et de altri zentili phylosophi, quali volivano el mondo essere senza principio alcuno*.

[51] ibid., f. 2r – *me ha constrecto lo volgia fare chiaro de alcune dubitatione per sincerità de la sua consciencia*.

[52] Kaeppeli, 'Tommaso dai Liuti', p. 202; Leonard E. Boyle, 'The *Summa* for Confessors as a Genre, and its Religious Intent', *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion: Papers from the University of Michigan Conference*, ed. Charles Trinkaus (Leiden: 1974), pp. 126-137.

it probably had grounding in and originated from real-life discussions between the pair and other individuals, both at the ducal court and at the Studio in Ferrara.[53] The intrusion of many court and learned figures of Ferrara into the dialogue suggests their presence and association in the same circle as the friar and Prisciani. As such, the *Declaratorio* could be taken as evidence of the presence of theological discussion, and therefore the importance – at least in this capacity – of learned religious, such as Liuti, at Borso's court. Moreover, the text provides a window into the interactions of religious and lay both at court and at the Studio, as well as testifying to Liuti's continuing links to the ducal court and to individuals in government.

In order to assess the likely readership or circulation of Tommaso's literary works, it is necessary to examine Este patronage and the literary life of the court. Such activity in Ferrara has been more consistently studied for the reign of Borso's predecessor, Leonello d'Este (1407-1450, *signore* from 1441) – in no small part thanks to Angelo Decembrio's *Politia literaria*, which described and reimagined the humanist courtly life and discussions amongst the circle of Leonello.[54] This humanist influence, which manifested itself at the Ferrara court as a fascination with the classical past, dated back to the presence of the scholar Guarino da Verona at the court of Niccolò III d'Este.[55]

Whilst Niccolò's successor Leonello has been identified as nurturing this intellectual culture, encouraging for instance the reappropriation of the Latin language

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[53] Kaeppeli, 'Tommaso dai Liuti', p. 203.

[54] Angelo Decembrio, *De politia litteraria*, ed. Norbert Witten (Munich: 2002); Luigi Balsamo, 'La circolazione del libro a corte', *La corte e lo spazio: Ferrara estense*, vol. 2, eds. Giuseppe Papagno & Amedeo Quondam (Rome: 1982), pp. 659-681, at pp. 665-666.

[55] On Guarino in Ferrara, see Giulio Bertoni, *Guarino da Verona* (Geneva: 1921); Battini, 'La cultura a corte', pp. 282-283.

for daily use at court as well as patronising works which furthered understanding of the classics, his brother and successor Borso has instead more often been depicted as being far less literary in his tastes, with the *studia humanitatis* giving way to the hunt.[56] Nevertheless, literary activity and output was not discouraged at Borso's court. It simply took a new direction, with the focus shifting to a concentration on the exaltation of the present and their ducal patron in particular (as with Liuti's *Trattato*), rather than the glory of the classical past.[57] Borso was cited by contemporaries as giving his literary attention to matters of jurisprudence and medicine, as well as supporting the Ferrara Studio – all of which, of course, conformed to contemporary ideas of the ideal ruler.[58] Indeed, during Borso's reign the ducal library was expanded and the numbers of books given out on loan from it increased significantly.[59] In his 1925 study of the ducal library loan registers, Domenico Fava, though perhaps with some degree of hyperbole, concluded that there was not a single person of the court, the Studio, or indeed any man of culture who had not borrowed from or gifted a book to the library.[60] Notably, works on the art of government were given a prominent position in the library in Borso's time – treatises such as the Bolognese jurist Bornio da Sala's *De principe* and *Trattato sul governo*, as well as, of course, Liuti's own *Trattato del modo di ben governare*.[61] It is possible, then, that the *Trattato*, whilst ostensibly composed for Borso alone, was not confined exclusively to this unique readership. The existence of the *Declaratorio*, on the other hand, may have in part

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[56] Battini, 'La cultura a corte', pp. 285, 295.

[57] Balsamo, 'La circolazione del libro', p. 676.

[58] Battini, 'La cultura a corte', p. 295.

[59] Balsamo, 'La circolazione del libro', p. 677.

[60] Domenico Fava, *La Biblioteca Estense nel suo sviluppo storico: con il catalogo della Mostra permanente e 10 tavole* (Modena: 1925), p. 67.

[61] Bianchi, *Ein Bolognese Jurist*, p. 23.

originated from the image of piety which Borso cultivated around his court, in addition to any personal need of Prisciani's, and therefore may also have known a wider readership.[62]

Liuti's surviving literary works thus appear reflective of the prevailing conditions at the Ferrara court, and arguably – if, for instance, the conversations exhibited in the *Declaratorio* are held to be based upon real events – attest to the friar's presence there and links to particular individuals at court. At the very least, the existence and prominent position of the *Trattato* in the ducal library demonstrates some degree of awareness of Liuti, as well as the friar's own understanding of the topics favoured by the duke. The possible purposes of such links, however, still need to be determined. Moreover, any part the Dominican's work as a preacher may have played in his presence at court, or vice versa, remain to be established.

2. The Lenten Sermons of 1460:

2.1. The Liber petitionum anime:

Liuti's final extant work is a cycle of sermons for Lent which survives in two manuscript copies, now housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence and the Bibliothèque Louis Notari in Monaco respectively, and in a printed edition from Cologne. Apart from a very brief overview by Thomas Kaeppeli in 1950, the sermon cycle has not been subjected to scholarly analysis. The *explicit* in both manuscripts date their completion to 1466, whilst the printed edition was produced in 1474.[63]

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[62] Battini, 'La cultura a corte', p. 300.

[63] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS D. 6. 1460, f. 251v – *Scriptum et completum per me magistrum Johannem de verona ordinis fratrum predicatorum in conventu parmensi die 14a februarii 1466*;

Entitled the *liber petitionum anime*, the cycle was probably copied with the intention of providing model sermons for the use of other preachers. However, it does appear that the sermons were actually delivered several years earlier. The Florence manuscript contains an additional note in a different hand below the *explicit*, which states that, 'this *quadragesimale* was composed and completed in the year 1460.'[64] This correlates with a notice in the sacristy records of the Ferrara cathedral, which reveals that a *maestro Thom. de Ferraria de l'ordine de sancto domenego* was paid for preaching in Lent in 1460.[65] Unfortunately, due to damage to the folio, the amount he was paid has not survived. By way of comparison, a Domenico da Roma, another Dominican, was paid 20 *lire marchesana*, 2 *soldi*, 14 *denari* for the same task the previous year.[66] Mario Marzola noted that preaching at the cathedral was the most prestigious preaching appointment in Ferrara, and that the Este *signori* would be personally involved in the selection process. For instance, in 1439 Niccolò III and Leonello sent letters in order to try and persuade Giovanni da Capestrano to preach for Lent. Indeed, any preaching appointment for major occasions at the cathedral had to gain the consent of the *signore*.[67]

Monaco, Bibliothèque Louis Notari, Clm 13505 – *Explectum est hoc dignum opus per me Doninum de bottinis civic parmensis sub die 18 Marci 1466 quartadecima indicione. Amen. Doninus de Bottinis* (cited in Kaeppeli, 'Tommaso dai Liuti', p. 197).

[64] Ms. D. 6. 1460, f. 251v – *Compositum fuit hoc quadragesimale et completum anno domini MCCCCLX*.

[65] Ferrara, Biblioteca Ariostea, Ms. 456, Giuseppe Antenori Scalabrini, 'Sacrestia della Cattedrale', ff. 1r-306v, f. 105r.

[66] ibid., f. 101r – *fra Domenego da Roma del dito ordine predicò la quaresima…L 20 S 2 d xiii*. Thomas Tuohy, *Herculean Ferrara: Ercole d'Este, 1471-1505, and the Invention of a Ducal Capital*, (Cambridge: 1996), p. xxii, gives a useful summary of Ferrarese currency in this period. By way of comparison with Mattei in Chapter 2, p. 105, 50 soldi equated to one gold ducat in 1450 – thus Domenico da Roma was paid a value of around 8 gold ducats.

[67] Mario Marzola, *Per la Storia della Chiesa Ferrarese nel secolo XVI (1497-1590)* (Turin: 1976), p. 643.

The preacher's audience can, to an extent, be deduced from the substance of his sermons. Even if this were not possible, it seems reasonable to conclude that Liuti's selection as the Lenten preacher in the main church of Ferrara indicates that his audience would have been comprised, as in other cases in other towns, mainly of the laity, with all sections of society in attendance at one point or another.[68] The themes which Liuti chose to speak about do appear to substantiate this conclusion – or at least expose the preacher's wish to address the interests of various groups of society. Subjects such as the dress of women, widowhood, and luxury suggest that these particular sermons were aimed at lay women – and these topics were reserved by Liuti for Sundays, the best-attended days, thus attesting to their importance to the preacher and/or their popularity.[69] Other topics such as the lending of money by merchants and whether the son should be punished for the sins of the father (which deals with vendetta) likewise point to a lay audience.[70]

Whereas as soures for the friar's particular interests or foci the *Trattato* and the *Declaratorio* are both bound to some extent by the limitations of their genre and their singular objectives, Liuti's sermons provide a fuller picture of his thought and knowledge, due to the wide variety of topics the preacher covered over the course of Lent. Liuti's particular interests may be identifiable in their recurrence (and perhaps also reflect a belief that these subjects might prove popular among his audience). Due

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[68] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, pp. 40-41.

[69] ibid., p. 40.

[70] Luxury and dress are dealt with in two sermons – 9 and 16 March (both Sunday sermons, attesting to their importance in the preacher's eyes), Liuti, 'Sermones', pp. 114-129, 213-229; widowhood (and obedience) on 11 March, pp. 147-161; concubinage and marriage on 23 March, pp. 297-319; money-lending on 14 March, pp. 189-202; punishment of children for sins of the father on 7 March, pp. 92-103. The dates were worked out by establishing the date of Easter Sunday in 1460 (14 April) and then working backwards.

to the friar's later career as inquisitor, sermons which treat the administration of justice, dress and luxury, and correct belief also stand out.[71] Some of these topics crossed over into, or were articulated in a similar manner, in Liuti's other works – in particular the *Trattato* – which make them useful for further illuminating the preacher's possible relationship with the governing authority. The sermon for Palm Sunday, in particular, bears a striking resemblance to the *Trattato*.[72]

In addition to this sermon, the content of one other immediately stands out when considered within the context of the friar's future career. This is Liuti's first sermon, for Ash Wednesday, which is ostensibly concerned with the themes of penitence and hypocrisy. Here the friar indulged in listing deviations from piety and heretical movements, from charlatans who pretend to an apostolic life and miracles in order to swindle others out of money, to those who take to walking through the streets in chains. Some read as veiled criticisms of observant friars, such as the mentions of those who wear restrictive habits and hoods, and those who reject learning. Liuti also names some of these orders of 'thieves and robbers', such as, 'certain "saints" of James of Altopascio', a military order – the Hospitallers of St James, who had been suppressed, apparently unsuccessfully, only a year earlier by a bull of Pius II dated 18 January 1459.[73] Liuti's depth of knowledge of potentially heretical practices is

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[71] Justice is the subject of three sermons, on 3 March, pp. 49-57, 24 March, pp. 319-331, and 4 April, pp. 412-422, whilst the Palm Sunday sermon on 7 April, pp. 435-446 also deliberates at length on the theme of justice. Sermons such as on 28 February (on correct faith), pp. 10-19, 21 March (on disbelief), pp. 279-287, 25 March (idolatry and the honouring of feast-days), pp. 332-341, and, of course, the entire final week of sermons exploring the Eucharist in detail (pp. 446-469 in the printed edition, which omits the final three sermons, ff. 217r-251v in the Florence manuscript) deal with exploring issues of correct faith.

[72] This sermon is explored below, pp. 165-179.

[73] Many other 'deviations' are noted by the preacher – such as the *Capuzati*, *Capitorti*, and the 'Bearded'. Liuti, 'Sermones', pp. 9-10 - *Et sicut quis multis modis similat sanctitatem sic dyabolus multos adinvenit in ypocrisi stipendiarios. diversa enim signa deferunt stipendiarii principum, sic et*

displayed in this section, and may attest to his dedication to the rooting out and suppression of heresies even before rising to the post of inquisitor-general in 1462. It is quite possible that through his sermons the friar intended, in addition to teaching his audience, that the secular authority be made aware of his concern and knowledge of this field in order to smooth his way to the post of inquisitor-general.

The section on hypocrites is also one of several pieces of evidence which suggest that, though the surviving copies were probably intended to be distributed as model sermons, something of the original character as preached in 1460 had survived, since the sermons retain elements which were of particular contemporary relevance – including the mention of the recently-suppressed Hospitallers of St James. Likewise, in the Florence manuscript the Thursday sermon of the first week, after mentioning

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stipendiarii dyaboli. Quidam enim angelici vocantur qui simulant angelicam vitam ducere, non amare nisi celestia et illa semper desiderare cum tamen sola terrena desiderant. Alii apostolici appellantur…Alii basaterra vocantur qui inclinati et ad terram prostrati longas faciunt id est fingunt orationes, terram osculantantes…Alii laudato christo appellantur, cum autem aliquem vocant, proprium dimittunt nomen et dicunt laudato christo et in occulto pessime blasfemant. Alii taciturni vocantur qui scapulas stringunt quando loquentes scapulis respondent. Alii balla in cristo qui post lautos cibos et optima convivia cum cantilenis spiritualibus ballant in christo. Alii dicuntur anime simplices quia omnia que faciunt fingunt facere ex simplicitate…Alii dicuntur capuzati. Isti sunt qui breve capucium indumentaque stricta deferunt. Alii capitorti dicuntur, qui omne studium adhibent ad portandum caput tortum. Alii spiritelli appellantur, fingentes non velle amare nec audire nisi celestia verba tristarique videntur, si quandoque audiunt aliquos loquentes verba mundana aut aliquid iocosum. Alii dicuntur magnasancti qui osculando vadunt sanctos per ecclesias ut videantur devoti. Alii abstracti nominantur qui in missa in communione a sensibus videntur alienari…Alii dulcorati dicuntur qui quandam spiritualem dulcedinem ostendunt in divinis sermonibus suspiria emittunt ut seipse audiantur. Alii barbati nominati sunt qui barbam prolixam nutriunt ut mundum videantur vilipendere. Alii cioratani dicuntur qui cum mendaciis et fictionibus predicant bullas et quedam sigilla secum deferunt. Nam quidam sancti Bobi quidam sancti Peregrini, quidam sancte Marie de Roncivalle, quidam sancti Iacobi de Alto Passo, quidam pro captivorum redemptione et plurimi alii qui plerumque sunt fures et latrones. Alii dicuntur beati in piaza qui in plateis cum cathenis et per civitates se verberant. Alii afflicti nominantur qui sophistice afflictam faciem ostendunt. Isti sub specie boni multa mala faciunt…; For the Hospitallers of St James and attempt at suppression, see Ephraim Emerton, 'Altopascio: A Forgotten Order', *American Historical Review*, 29, 1 (1923), pp. 1-23.

the fall of Constantinople in 1453, retains the line that such persecution of Christians, 'continues even more now under Pope Pius II.'[74] In the same sermon, the preacher opines: 'Note here, o soul, that our faith is good. And it is shown in many ways…second, by way of duration…It has lasted already for 1460 years.'[75]

Furthermore, within the Palm Sunday sermon examined below, Liuti includes a lengthy section in which he lists many famous historical and scriptural figures, including many notable Italian contemporaries, in order to show that even these individuals did not match up to Christ in their deeds. For instance, the preacher names several *condottieri* of the mid-fifteenth century:

> those who seek fame with deeds of arms and courage, which is quickly removed …for how many made themselves famous in our own times through deeds of arms…where I ask is Niccolò Piccinino, where Niccolò della Stella, where Angelo della Pergola, where Guido Torelli, where messer Otto, where Cesare de Martinengo, where Niccolò di Tolentino, where Vitaliano Furlano, where Giacomo da Caivana…[76]

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[74] MS D. 6. 1460, f. 8r – *Et non minus nunc sub illo sevissimo theucro qui constantinopolim accepit vi et multa alia loca nostra cum maxima crudelitate tempore Nicholai pape quinto et durat nunc magis sub Pio papa secundo*. The printed edition contains slightly different wording - *tempore Nycolai pape quinti, Calixti pape tercii, Pii pape secundi et durat usque ad tempus presens* (Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 19).

[75] ibid., f. 8r – *Ubi nota anima quod fides nostra bona est. Et ostenditur multis rationibus…secundo ratione durationis…Duravit iam annis 1460*. In the printed edition, this was changed to 1469 years, probably due to the later date of that copy (Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 19).

[76] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 437 – *illi qui factis armorum et fortitudine querunt famam que brevissime tollitur…Quot enim fuerunt temporibus nostris famosi in factis armorum ubi quaeso Nicolaus picholinus ubi Nicolaus de lazella ubi angelus de lapergola ubi Guido torello ubi miser otto ubi Cesaro de martiningo ubi Nicolaus de tollentino ubi Taliano furlano ubi Iacobus de garbana et cetera. Quo iverunt isti cum equis suis et armis atque fortitudine transierunt omnes et sic illos mundus decepit in fortitudine quos Christus iudicabit exaltatus a patre*. Niccolò Piccinino (died 1444), signore of Orvieto, was perhaps the most famous; Niccolò Fortebraccio (della Stella) (died 1435) was Count of Montone;

In a final example, in the same section Liuti gives a list of rulers both secular and ecclesiastical, ending with Pope Pius II, with regards to whom he comments that, 'along with the kings of Aragon, France and Hungary, [Pius] was with us in recent days'.[77] This could well be a reference to Pius II's convocation of the Council of Mantua from May 1459 to January 1460, where the pope met with representatives of the rulers of Europe in order to call a new crusade against the Turks. On his way to the Council, Pius II had stopped for some days in Ferrara in 1459 in order to solicit the help of Borso d'Este.[78] Interjections such as these suggest that the sermons as copied down can be viewed with some confidence as bearing relation to what was actually preached, rather than having being entirely 'neutered' for future use as model sermons.

Liuti employed a distinctive and somewhat unusual running theme throughout his Lenten cycle. Each sermon begins with a scriptural *thema*, but is not necessarily developed from this foundation. In each sermon, the *thema* would be followed by 'a good soul', asking a question based upon it. The question would then be answered in brief. This exchange serves in each case? almost as a prologue to the sermon proper,

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Angelo della Pergola (died 1428) was Count of Biandrate, Guido Torelli (died 1449) was Count of Guastalla and Montechiarugolo; Otto Buonterzo (died 1409), was count of Reggio Emilia and signore of Parma; Cesare de Martinengo (died 1461) was count of Orzivecchi; Niccolò Mauruzzi di Tolentino (died 1435) was signore of Caldarola; Vitaliano Furlano (died 1446) was signore of Urbisaglia and several other towns; and Giacomo da Caivana (died 1446) served under Piccinino for several years.

[77] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 439 – *Ubi propter Pius. Quo rex Arroganum rex Francie rex ungarie qui proximis diebus nobiscum erant.* The King of France at this time was Charles VII, the king of Hungary Matthias Corvinus, whilst the king of Aragon was John II, although Tommaso might in fact have been thinking of the king of Naples, Ferdinand I (Ferrante), with whom Pius II had allied himself. See Barbara Baldi, *Pio II e le trasformazioni dell'Europa cristiana (1457-1464)* (Milan: 2006), pp. 107-127, 173-201.

[78] D'Ancona, *The Schifanoia Months*, p. 8.

which is instead comprised of the responses to two more questions – or petitions – that Liuti has the soul ask. These questions are not necessarily related to the *thema*, although the preacher still refers to it in the sermon's conclusion. Thus, each sermon tackled three, often apparently separate, issues – one in brief and two at length. The only sermons which deviated from this pattern were the sermons for the final week of Lent, which concerned themselves solely with explaining the various parts of the Eucharist.

The sermon for Thursday 20 March (around midway through the cycle) serves as a good example of Liuti's style. He began the sermon with the *thema*, 'demons came out of many people.'[79] The preacher continued, 'therefore, today, the soul faithfully asks its Saviour if men can expel demons.'[80] The Dominican answered this question concisely – that through appealing to God and the holy Virgin demons can be expelled – after which two more petitions were made by the soul to its Saviour: 'First, what is more noble, to listen to the prophet of Christ [a preacher], or to remain in the contemplative life. Second, whether the vice of avarice is a mortal sin.[81] The responses to these questions form the main content of the sermon.

The *prologus* which begins the collection gives a description of this method. Tommaso firstly stated that, 'I examine the abundant usefulness of the divine word for souls.'[82] 'Therefore,' the *prologus* continues,

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[79] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 268 – *exibant autem a multis daemonia* (Luke 4:41).

[80] ibid., p. 268 – *Ideo hodie anima fidelius petit a suo salvatore, si homines possunt daemones expellere*.

[81] ibid., p. 268 – *demones coguntur multis modis pro per adiurationem dei et beate virginis*; p. 268 – *Duas hodie anima fidelis suo salvatori facit petitiones, primo quid nobilius aut divinum christi audire aut in vita contemplativa stare, secundo si vitium avaritie sit mortale*.

[82] ibid., p. 3 – *Quia concerno verbum divinum copiosissimam animarum utilitatem…*

> in this *quadragesimale*…one conclusion is drawn daily from the said Church Fathers, which will be brought about by the soul through [its] questioning entreaties and uncertainties – therefore, not undeservedly can this be called the book of the petitions of the soul. Then, there will be two entreaties to the Saviour, for the explanation of the Epistles and of the Gospel.[83]

The printed edition of 1474 also adds that, 'each sermon concerns two principal topics, one from the Gospel, the other from readings or the corresponding Epistles…'[84] This description suggests a biblical structure, or at least foundation, to the sermons. Nonetheless, scriptural references form only a small part of the authorities employed, with both ecclesiastical and classical authors liberally consulted throughout the sermons. Nonetheless, one authority, Thomas Aquinas, stands out not only in the frequency of usage, but also in the distinct manner of that use.

The works of Aquinas, most often the *Summa Theologiae*, provide a thread common to each sermon, in that he was almost always the first authority to be cited. That the Dominican was dedicated to Aquinas is not unusual. Thomist thought experienced a revival in the fifteenth cenuty, particularly amongst the more reformist Dominican houses (of which Liuti admittedly was not a part). Moreover, those friars aspiring to the role of inquisitor, such as Liuti, undertook scholastic training which involved the study of Thomist works.[85] Even so, the structural element to Liuti's use of Aquinas in his sermons is notable. The response found in Aquinas' works to the

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[83] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 3 – *Ideo hac in quadragesima…ex sanctorum doctorum dictis unam cottidie adductam conclusionem que erit anime causa petitionis questionum et dubitationum. Non ergo immerito poterit vocari hic liber petitionum anime. Deinde duas salvatori faciet petitiones pro epistole et evangelii declaratione*.

[84] ibid., p. 1 – *In quolibet sermone duas principales movet materias, unam evangelio, aliam lectioni seu epistole correspondentem*.

[85] Tavuzzi, *Renaissance Inquisitors*, p. 45.

questions set by the sermons make up the preacher's brief answers and conclusions (the preacher always begins with, 'the Lord replies through St Thomas'), with other authorities and *exempla* essentially used to elaborate upon the conclusion already reached using Aquinas' work.[86] Liuti's devotion to Aquinas and the inspiration taken from his works is made abundantly clear throughout all of the friar's surviving works – both overtly, as in the praise for Aquinas at the beginning of the *Trattato* mentioned earlier, and also a poem celebrating the theologian which is found in the Monaco manuscript of Liuti's sermons (though here the author cannot be verified as Liuti) – and more indirectly, but no less prominently, through the friar's constant use of this authority within the works themselves.[87]

2.2. The Sermon for Palm Sunday:

Unlike the sermons investigated in the previous chapters, Liuti's sermon for Palm Sunday in 1460 does not have a critical context in the political life of the city.[88] The sermon did not emerge in response to a crisis or immediately apparent long-standing issue. Nevertheless, the sermon does display a line of thought which can be construed as not only agreeable to, but also furthering, an image of the state which the governing authority of Ferrara was simultaneously making overt efforts to construct around itself. That the friar chose to make this his penultimate Sunday sermon could also indicate the relative importance of the subject matter to the preacher. Furthermore, this sermon can be usefully compared to the preacher's *Trattato del modo di ben*

[86] *Respondit Dominus per sanctum Thomam*.

[87] Kaeppeli, 'Tommaso dai Liuti', cites this poem, p. 197 – *Oret voce pia pro nobis virgoque Thoma/Predicatorum lumen, sydus celeste supremum/Qui fuit inventor presentis materiei/Tu sibi parce deus et miserere mei*.

[88] This sermon is found in Liuti, 'Sermones', pp. 435-446.

governare, both because of the likelihood of its close proximity in terms of date of composition and for the close similarity of the nature of its content. The comparison reveals the extent to which Liuti's sermon presented ideas in line with the political image promoted under Borso's reign, as well as suggesting a possible means of linkage between the friar and the Este court.

The Palm Sunday sermon begins with the *thema*, 'see, your gentle king comes to you.'[89] Liuti first asks whether humility ought to make man subservient to everything. As with his earlier sermons, this first question is dealt with very briefly (with reference to Aquinas' thoughts on humility) before the preacher splits the majority of the Palm Sunday sermon into two distinct halves.[90] The first major *divisio* espouses the reasons why Christ should be exalted above all others. Whilst this section contains the intriguing list of notable individuals mentioned earlier, it is the longer second *divisio* which is of particular interest.

The soul's second question asks what factors are necessary for a good community to exist.[91] To answer this question, the preacher reports that Aquinas' definition of the republic in his commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics* follows the words of Augustine and Cicero, and then begins, interestingly, by quoting from the works of these latter two authorities – *De civitate dei* and *De officiis* – respectively, rather than Aquinas' work.[92] The friar's concession that he and his audience did not inhabit the classically-

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[89] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 435 – *Ecce rex tuus tibi venit mansuetus.* See Matthew 21:5.

[90] ibid., p. 435 – *Ideo anima fidelis a suo salvatore petit, si homo per humilitatem debet se subicere omnibus. Cui respondit dominus per sanctum Tho.2.2.q.162.ar.3…*; See Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, II.ii.161.3.

[91] ibid., p. 435 – *prima in quo deus exaltavit filium suum. Secunda an res publica sit et quid.*

[92] ibid., pp. 440-441 – *Respondit dominus per sanctum Thomam in libro ethicorum quae res publica est ut ipse dicit adducens beatum Augustinum de civitate capitulo 19. Recitantem diffinitionem datama*[sic] *Scipione et a Tullio de republica, quae respublici est res populi populus autem est cetus iuris consensu et utilitate communis societatis idem 18 capitulo…dicit Tullius pro de offici capitulo 39: In republica*

defined republic came here also, through the proviso that, 'it is ruled well whether by one, or by many, through general consensus and for the common good of society.'[93] This was followed by an exhortation for society also to work together through mutual consent, for this was the only path to the preservation of the state.[94] This approach noticeably diverges from the (probably) earlier observations found in the *Trattato*, since the sermon is less about how a state should be governed or how its rulers should act, and more concerned with how the population should behave. This can be explained by noting the different intended audiences. Both are pieces of advice literature, constructed in ways which would have the maximum impact and usefulness for their intended audience.

Liuti continues by describing seven condition which must be met by all, governors or governed, in order for the inhabitants to live in a good State. These were: good laws; fair justice; cordial unity, mutual loyalty; sober advice; honest behaviour; and well-ordered intention.[95] These conditions were each in turn expanded upon in detail. The large majority of this section on the seven conditions was taken by the Dominican – without attribution – from a treatise composed by the thirteenth-century Franciscan John of Wales. John's *Communiloquium*, or *Summa collationum* was intended to be

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magistratus persona privatas et peregrinas ubi eorum officia assignat...; See Augustine, *De civitate dei*, XIX.xxi; Cicero, *De re publica*, I.xxv; idem, *De officiis*, I.124-125.

[93] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 440 – *bene regitur sive ab uno sive a pluribus iuris consensu et utilitate communione sociatus*. See Augustine, *De civitate dei*, II.xxi.

[94] ibid., pp. 440-441 – *tunc salva est respublica cum secundum ius omnes consensiunt et utilitatem communem omnes intendunt.*

[95] ibid., p. 441 – *Hec enim respublica septem debet habere conditiones*. *Et primo debet habere legum rectitudinem, secundo iustitie equitatem, tertio concordie unitatem, quarto mutuam fidelitatem, quinto consilii sobrietatem, sexto morum honestatem, septimo ordinatam intentionem*.

used as an aid to teach preachers how to instruct different types of audiences.[96] It is probable, then, that Liuti came across the work as part of a preaching manual.

Although much of the content originated from the *Communiloquium*, Liuti also consistently played around with wording and style, whilst also in general abbreviating explanations by either cutting out extraneous examples, or cutting down those he kept within the sermon. For instance, while the *Communiloquium* cites at length an example from Valerius Maximus concerning the Romans Marcus Lepidus and Fulvius Nobilior, bitter enemies who put aside their differences for the good of the republic upon rising to the role of consul, Liuti instead cuts to the point, by simply mentioning that Valerius talks of enemies who came together for the good of the state, and then exhorting his listeners to follow such examples.[97] Both style and structure would have presumably been determined by personal preference and, critically, the change in mode of delivery and intended audience (the preacher would have been conscious of the need to maintain his listeners' interest and the ways in which the content could be made readily comprehensible to them). Moreover, there are also a number of instances where Liuti inserted his own additions which were more than purely stylistic.

The preacher gave the most space to describing the necessity of the first two conditions – that of good laws and fair justice. With regards to the former, it should be

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[96] Jenny Swanson, *John of Wales: A Study of the Works and Ideas of a Thirteenth-Century Friar* (Cambridge: 1989), esp. pp. 63-106; Pamela Kalning, 'Virtues and Exempla in John of Wales and Jacubus de Cessolis', *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages 1200-1500*, eds. István Bejczy & Cary Nederman (Turnhout: 2007), pp. 139-176.

[97] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 444 – '*Valerianus libro 4 capitulo 7 ubi narrat de quaedam qui plangebat adversarium suum qui rei publice utilis erat…et quia non est concordia ubi non est caritas…ideo caritas est necessaria*.' The *Communiloquium* instead reads: *Prout ait Valerius libro iiii capitulo ii narrans scilicet de Melino Lepide et Fulino Frasto, quia ut censores creati sunt qui prius in inimiciis dissidebant, publice vincti sunt non dissidentes in inimiciis privatis. Unde ibidem capitulo i narrat de eo qui plangebat adversarium eo quod erat reipublice utilis…*

noted that both the *Trattato* and Liuti's sermons belong to the same period as Borso's greatest experiment with law-making – the full-scale revision of the Ferrara statutes which took place between 1455 and 1459.[98] This may explain Liuti's lengthy exposition on the subject of laws here, or at the least suggests an obvious real-world reflection and contemporary relevance. In addition, Liuti himself may have been quite comfortable with this subject, having studied and taught canon law at the Studio, whilst as shown, he also came from a family which had produced several notable jurists.[99]

This first *distinctio* echoes the friar's desire, also exhibited in the *Trattato*, for the intangible qualities of virtues and morals to be supported and aided by the laws of the state.[100] Liuti notes in his sermon that, 'nothing [should] proceed from the laws unless it is to the advantage of the state…therefore, if one should govern with incorrect laws, not for long will the state stand firm.'[101] The preacher explained that laws were natural things – 'laws are just like bridles, harnesses, and fetters for horses…people without law run into a trap and against the mandates of God.'[102]

Liuti follows this with a notable deviation from the *Communiloquium*. The preacher picks out an example of incorrect custom masquerading as law, namely the practice of simony. He urges his audience to admonish those who practice simony, and warns

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[98] Laura Turchi, 'Istituzioni cittadine e governo signorile a Ferrara (fine sec. XIV – prima metà sec. XVI)', *Storia di Ferrara volume VI: Il Rinascimento situazioni e personaggi*, ed. Adriano Prosperi (Ferrara: 2000), pp. 129-158, at p. 142.

[99] Frassoni, *Le famiglie*, p. 24.

[100] Liuti, 'Trattato', pp. 53-71.

[101] idem., 'Sermones', p. 441 – *sic et a legibus nil convenit arbitrari nisi reipublice conducat profectui quoniam eius causa est comparatae…ideo si non rectis legibus gubernatur non diu stabit…*

[102] ibid., p. 442 – *Sunt enim leges sicut frenum capistrum conpedes equi…populus sine lege incurrit in laqueum et contra dei mandata*.

that, 'if they should not desist they are excommunicated.'[103] Pragmatically, Liuti does not blame rulers directly for allowing such customs to continue to exist, but rather attacks those who, 'influenced the princes into making such laws…and if they say it is customary practice, I respond that that custom is not healthy.'[104] Liuti's insertion of his own example and opinion here suggests that this matter may have been of either personal or contemporary importance. That is to say, this refers not solely to the practice of simony – although that certainly appears to be a part of it – but also to the equating of common custom with law, as indicated by Liuti choosing to conclude the passage by quoting Valerius: 'those who prefer to use their customs rather than their laws have most equitable laws, but must unjust natures.'[105]

The *distinctio* ends with another original addition by the preacher. Framing it as another of the soul's questions – 'but the soul asks who are they who can preserve the laws?' – Liuti responds by naming eight authorities.[106] The first six of these were ecclesiastical: the pope, legates, the episcopal synod, the bishop, [cathedral] chapter, the rest of the clergy (perhaps attesting to Liuti's greater familiarity with canon law, or even his view of the relationship between canon and secular law), with the final two being, 'the emperor in temporal matters', and, 'the senate and people, our community.'[107] The citizens themselves, then, are tasked with responsibility to

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[103] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 442 – *illas faciunt aut consentiunt mortaliter peccant extra deo symonia…Et ammoneri si non desistant sunt excommunicati.*

[104] ibid., p. 442 – *et qui in duxerunt principes ad faciendum tales leges insolidum tenentur. Et si dicunt consuetudinem esse, respondeo illam consuetudinem non valere*.

[105] ibid., p. 442 – *cum equissima iura sed nequissimam ingeram haberent moribus suis quam legibus uti maluerunt*. See Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium*, 5.3.ext.3.

[106] ibid., p.442 – '*sed petit anima qui sunt qui possunt legem condere*?'

[107] ibid., p. 442 – '*Respondeo quae illi qui curam habent totius multitudinis sicut papa…primo, secundo legatus in sua legatione…3o synodus epoiscopalis…4o episcopus…5o capitulum cum accessissent…6o universitas clericorum seu magistrorum, 7o imperator in temporalibus…8o senatus populusque nostra civitas…*'

preserve the laws, rather than simply adhering to them. The preacher thus extends the responsibility for ensuring security and peace from the *signore* in his *Trattato* to his new audience, the *signore*'s subjects. In addition, there may be more to the classicising *senatus populusque* terminology. The nomenclature of the city council of Ferrara underwent modification in the mid-Quattrocento. Trevor Dean has noted that the *Consiglio dei Savi* began to be recorded as *senatus* in the communal records, and each page would be headed with the abbreviation *S. P. Q. F. – Senatus Populusque Ferrariensis*. Dean surmises that this was part of an effort to, 'find a positive role for the communal council', following the transfer of much of its power to the ducal administration.[108] Carrie Beneš has surmised that by the late Middle Ages the *SPQR* symbol had lost the republican ideological slant upon which it had been resurrected in the twelfth century. It could, 'unproblematically represent any municipal body: populist, papal, or signorial.'[109] The use of the *SPQF* variation in Ferrara thus would not have necessarily been inconsistent with the political reality in the city. Tommaso may, then, have been participating in this effort to boost the status of the council – in symbolic terms if not in reality – whilst also carefully maintaining its position at the bottom of the hierarchy.

This *distinctio* thus serves the double purpose of instructing the law-makers – as had the *Trattato* to a certain extent – and embracing all citizens in the responsibility for the preservation of the laws. The former were tasked with enacting good and equitable laws, but this was not enough unless the latter also ensured they lived law-

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[108] Trevor Dean, 'Commune and Despot: The Commune of Ferrara under Este Rule, 1300-1450' *City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, eds. Trevor Dean & Chris Wickham (London: 1990), pp. 183-197, at p. 188.

[109] Carrie E. Beneš, 'Whose SPQR? Sovereignty and Semiotics in Medieval Rome', *Speculum*, 84.4 (October, 2009), pp. 874-904, pp. 888-889.

abiding lives – thus recalling the introduction to Liuti's preaching on the state, where he had urged the community to work together toward their mutual interest.

It is the second *distinctio* – on fair justice – which bears the greatest stylistic resemblance to the *Trattato*. Liuti spent a fair portion of his treatise discussing the issue of justice, which he identified as a duty the prince must observe, and which was a virtue that, as mentioned earlier, Borso was particularly concerned to align with himself.[110] Whilst the *Trattato*'s instruction was directed at the *signore*, the discussion of justice in the Palm Sunday sermon seems intended for an audience with which Borso had also taken issue – the officials directly responsible for the administration and execution of justice.

Liuti's potential usefulness to the secular authority is most clearly displayed within this section and in the *distinctio* which follows (on peaceful unity). The sermon delivers the same fundamental message espoused in the *Trattato*, on the necessity of justice to the safe functioning of the state.[111] While many of the same quotations employed in the *Trattato*'s section on justice were also used by the friar in his discussion of fair justice in the Palm Sunday sermon, the type of language employed indicates that this part of the sermon was most especially directed at those whose

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[110] Liuti made the distinction between six forms of justice, or just action, which should be displayed depending with whom one were to deal with – 'to the superiors and the great should be given reverence; between equals, concord; discipline for subordinates; the highest obedience to God; patience for enemies; the poor should be shown works of mercy' – and subsequently discussed each in turn. Liuti, 'Trattato', pp. 56-57 - *a li superiori e magiori reverentia a li equali concordia a li minori disciplina a Dio summa obedientia a li nimici pacientia a li egenti e miseri operosa misericordia.* (This list was taken from Anselm's *Cur Deus homo*, as Liuti himself states).

[111] For instance, Augustine, *De civitate dei*, IV.iv (on kingdoms being great robberies without justice), and Cicero, *De officiis*, II.39-40 (on the utility of justice being so universally recognised, that even the wicked employ a system of justice) are referenced in Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 443; and idem., 'Trattato', pp. 56, 58.

responsibility it was to oversee judiciary administration and implement justice on a daily basis. In addition, the preacher imbues justice with a religious as well as social quality. Used properly, justice is a virtue which allows, 'the ignorant to be taught, and help given to the weak, and the low-born protected – so that sin does not reign in our mortal bodies.'[112] It also may be of significance – in terms of identifying at least a section of the audience – that Liuti ended the *distinctio* on justice with a quotation from the Book of Wisdom – 'Love justice, you that are the judges of the earth.'[113] This saying adorned the walls of numerous magistracy buildings in towns of north and central Italy in this period – most famously the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena.[114] Thus, Liuti's repetition of it may have served as a powerful link to a visual symbol and another way to relate his message to some of his audience.

The numerous revisions of the statutes and the creation of new legal bodies which occurred in the late 1450s not only point to Borso's wish to be linked to Justice, but also suggest a system lacking effectiveness in the first place and in need of both revision and bolstering. The chronicler Zambotti, for instance, identified the vendettas of the aristocracy, the petty violence of the Este entourage and hangers-on, and the students of the university as the main foci of crimes and transgressions.[115] The *podestà* of Ferrara in 1470, Luchino da Savona, remarked on the levels of crime and violence he found in the city, as well as the hundreds of pending cases, suggesting that Borso's symbolic connections with Justice had not translated into outright stability

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[112] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 443 – *Iustitia est virtus que redditur unicuique quod suum est superiori inequalitatem et inferior prelato obedientiam et reverentiam pari consilium quo erudiatur ignorantia auxilium quo iuvetur infirmitas inferiori custodiam ut non regnet peccatum in nostro mortali corpe*.

[113] Wisdom 1:1; Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 443 – *diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram*.

[114] Chiara Frugoni, 'The Book of Wisdom and Lorenzetti's Fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 43 (1980), pp. 239-241.

[115] For instance, Zambotti, 'Diario ferrarese', pp. 44, 49, 51, 65, 71, 72.

and order.[116] Luchino's complaint also hints at the two-fold nature of the problem – as well as the levels of crime being a cause for concern, it also highlighted the ineffectiveness of those tasked with rooting out the guilty parties and meting out effective punishment. Borso himself, and his successor Ercole, would frequently send letters admonishing the magistrates for their ineffectiveness.[117] As well as this ineptitude and corruption amongst the magistrates, the Church was also identified as one of the main impediments to the execution of justice. Indeed, the sacristy of the very cathedral in which Tommaso had preached was described ten years later as a, 'receptacle for all thieves and rogues.'[118] Liuti himself appears concerned with criminal and civil justice alike, as within this sermon and the *Trattato* he promotes both the punishment of wrong-doers and the maintenance of good order. The preacher emphasises here that laws should not absolve the guilty just as they should not punish the innocent, whilst the *Trattato*'s proposal of heavy punishments has already been noted.[119]

Through his sermons, Liuti provided a public avenue of support for the *signore*'s emphasis on the correct implementation of justice, his words serving both as advice for his general audience and as warning and instruction to those associated with the implementation of justice. His extended discussion of justice within the *Trattato* gives force to the idea that the friar was previously aware of Borso's aspirations, and gives a prior example of the replication of this desire. The multitude of sermons mentioned earlier which were devoted to elucidating upon the topic of justice during Liuti's course of Lenten preaching may also be suggestive of this awareness.

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[116] David S. Chambers & Trevor Dean, *Clean Hands and Rough Justice: An Investigating Magistrate in Renaissance Italy* (Ann Arbor, MI: 1997), p. 32.

[117] ibid., p. 39.

[118] Quoted in Chambers & Dean, *Clean Hands*, p. 35.

[119] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 443 – *leges sicut innocentem punire non debent ita nec reum absolvere debent*.

The third *distinctio* – on peaceful unity – bears a partial resemblance to the *Trattato*'s section on generosity as a necessary virtue of the good ruler. This is due to the use in both works of Seneca's *De beneficiis*, and specifically the fourth book, concerned with the bestowal of gifts and the return of gratitude.[120] The intention behind Liuti's use of Seneca was to advise the audience to be obedient toward their ruler and refrain from internal discord. His espousal of monarchial rule in the first section of the *Trattato* is here reflected in the comment that, 'every state ought to have one ruler, lest division be made.'[121] The friar's awareness of the circumstances under which he spoke was again reflected later on in the sermon when discussing the issue of loyalty. Having quoted Ennius by saying, 'there is no fellowship inviolate, no faith is kept,' the preacher broke off the quote – which ends with the lines, 'when kingship is concerned' – and instead warned, 'when the loyalty of some is changed with time.'[122] Warning against internal division, this *distinctio* thus maintained the theme of good administration begun in the previous section on justice by continuing to address in detail the governing class. These counted within their ranks those most likely to engage in criminal violence – according to Zambotti, for instance – as well as those most likely to be the source of any possible opposition toward the current regime.

The content of the fourth *distinctio* – on mutual loyalty, continues to suggest that the Palm Sunday sermon was intended for the ears of – if not exclusively delivered to

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[120] On the use of Seneca, see Chapter 4, pp. 218-219.

[121] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 443 – *omni republica debet unum principari ne fiat distinctio*.

[122] ibid., p. 444 – *nulla sancta societas est nec fides, ymo quorundam fides cum tempore mutatur*. Compare Cicero, *de officiis*, I.26 – *Nulla sancta societas, nec fides regni est*.

– an audience comprised of the governing elite, or those possessing the potential to govern. Liuti uses this section to speak on faithlessness – by which he meant specifically the idea of fraud and false flattery with the intention of deceiving for personal gain. Although the sermon as copied down uses the word *fides*, which in the circumstance of the preaching of a friar might be expected to imply a form of religious faith, the context does not support this rendition. Liuti uses *fides* in the context of quoting Cicero's *De officiis*, which applies the term with the sense of keeping to promises and agreements. Moreover, the content of this *distinctio* agrees more readily with a definition of faith as loyalty, rather than religious piety. Once more keeping the image of justice at the forefront, the preacher proclaims loyalty and faith to be, 'the fount of justice,' and with regards to injustice, 'none is more flagrant than that of the man who, at the very moment when he is most false, makes it his business to appear virtuous.'[123]

The fifth *distinctio* – on good counsel – continues this theme. As in the *Trattato*, Liuti emphasises that counsellors should also be older men – 'is not wisdom found in the aged?' – in addition to stressing the importance for the success of the state in both giving and listening to good counsel.[124] This description also reflects and calls to mind, for instance, the depiction of Borso and Justice at the Palazzo Schifanoia, where the duke is seen turning to an old man, a wise counsellor, for advice.[125] The fourth and fifth *distinctiones* thus clarify that even in a monarchial regime, the counsel of others could and should be taken into account. This appears a crucial statement when the

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[123] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 444 – *fundamentum iustitie est fides…autem iniustitie nulla est capitalior quam illorum qui cum maxime fallunt id agunt ut boni videantur*. Compare Cicero, *de officiis*, I.23, I.41.

[124] ibid., p. 445 – *in antiquis est sapientia*. Compare Job 12:12; Liuti, 'Trattato', p. 69 – *quelli che hano a consigliare per la republica, sint antiqui*…

[125] D'Ancona, *The Schifanoia Months*, pp. 17-18.

circumstances of the government of Ferrara in this period are taken into consideration. Whereas other subject towns of the Este state could look to their Council and cathedral chapter as two other, at least semi-autonomous, centres of power, Ferrara's governmental administrative structure had become entirely subsumed into the machinery of signorial power.[126] All new principal civil and religious building was directly under the patronage of the Este.[127] The city council, the *Consiglio dei Savi*, gradually had its powers stripped over the course of the century, until it provided little more than a ceremonial function.[128] In a situation such as this, then, where the administration of the city and the administration of the ducal estate became harder to differentiate with each passing year, Liuti's words served to give confidence to those who wished to participate in the governing of city and state. The preacher informs his audience that the consuls of ancient Rome were so named because they were appointed to consult rather than to reign, thus reflecting the situation of the governors of Ferrara, the *Consiglio dei Savi*, who were increasingly expected to function on a theoretically consultative (though in reality only symbolic), rather than executive, level during Borso's reign.[129]

The sixth and seventh *distinctiones* deal with the more intangible qualities which the state and its populace ought to possess – moral integrity and well-ordered intention. Concerning the former, Liuti employs the same authorities as the John of Wales text which was the basis for his discussion on the state (for instance, he repeats Cato's extolling of the virtues of the ancient Romans and the denunciation of the

[126] Folin, 'Gli Estensi e Ferrara', p. 34.

[127] idem., *Rinascimento Estense*, p. 250.

[128] idem., 'Gli Estensi e Ferrara', p. 34.

[129] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 445 – '*consules…dicebantur a consulendo*.' Compare Augustine, *De civitate dei*, V.xii.

latter-day degradation of morals). However, it is worth noting that the preacher also inserted his own commentary on the root cause for a state's failing in moral integrity – namely, that the state was lacking clear regulation of these morals.[130] This addition can be read as an appeal to police the morality of Ferrarese citizens. In previous Sunday sermons Tommaso had already shown his desire to restrain certain customs, such as ostentatious displays of luxury, and it is notable that significant sumptuary legislation came relatively late to Ferrara (1496) in comparison to other parts of Italy.[131] Moreover, his *Trattato* had likewise called for strict laws to be enacted in order to safeguard the state's moral integrity.[132] In this *distinctio*, too, the friar continued by lambasting those who, 'are concerned with magnificent mansions, and indifferent to the ruin of souls.'[133] Such statements probably reflect either the preacher's own convictions or at least those of his time, yet this too chimes with the ideological emphasis on pious works and moral deeds in which the Este rulers had indulged since Alberto d'Este at the end of the fourteenth century.[134]

In his conclusion, Liuti reiterates the introductory appeal to the audience to devote themselves to the common usefulness of the state, rather than personal advantage. The friar exhorts them to think of the state in the same terms as Cicero, who had said, 'I feel no less concern for the fortunes of state after my death than as to its present

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[130] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 445 – *ergo dicti mores desunt deordinatur*. The example of Cato can be found in Augustine, *de civitate dei*, V.xii.

[131] ibid., pp. 114-129; 213-229; Chambers & Dean, *Clean Hands*, pp. 148-149.

[132] Liuti, 'Trattato', p. 54.

[133] idem, 'Sermones', p. 445 – *tectorum splendor attenditur et labes non attenditur animorum*. Compare Augustine, *Epistolae*, CXXXVIII.ii.14.

[134] Rosenberg, *Este Monuments*, pp. 36, 49, 81, 84.

condition.'[135] Furthermore, the preacher argued that the intention behind awarding honours to Roman citizens for their work in supporting the state had been to inspire others to do the same – rather than to celebrate those citizens (that is, that working toward the support of the state should be a natural inclination).[136] 'Out of this unanimous purpose and communal intention', Liuti states, 'exists the salvation and preservation of the state.'[137] Before ending with praise of Christ which alludes to the opening *thema* of the sermon, the preacher notes that, 'just as the state ought to fulfil the aforesaid seven conditions, so the prince ought to have fidelity to God' – a final reminder of the ultimate secular power in Ferrara, in addition to once again calling to mind Liuti's focus in the earlier *Trattato del modo di ben governare*.[138]

3. Conclusions:

The *Trattato del modo di ben governare* and the *Declaratorio* together place Tommaso dai Liuti among the Ferrarese court milieu throughout the reign of Borso, the latter work suggesting an intimate companionship with one of the most important members of the ducal circle and government in Ferrara. Both appear to be more than works of wish fulfillment, as the *Trattato* was to be found in a prominent place in the ducal library, while the *Declaratorio* identifies other individuals at the Este court and bears a stylistic resemblance to the earlier *De politia literaria* written by the known

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[135] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 446 – *non minoris cure est michi qualis post mortem meam re publica fuerit quam qualis hodie paucis*. Compare Cicero, *De amicitia*, XII.

[136] ibid., p. 446 – *attribuebant divinos honores quibusdam ut excitarent aliquos as sustinendum pro re publica*.

[137] ibid., p. 446 – *ex hac unanimi voluntate et communi intentione existentium in re publica ipsa salvatur et conservatur*. Compare Cicero, *De natura deorum*, III.xix

[138] ibid., p. 446 - *ut dicunt verba preposita et sicut respublica debet habere 7 condiciones sic princeps debet habere deo fidelitatem.*

courtier Angelo Decembrio. The *Trattato* was presumably composed at the friar's own volition, and there is no evidence to suggest that it was commissioned by Borso. This would be usual for such works, which were normally composed in order to catch the eye, and patronage, of a secular lord. Although Alfredo Acito believed that Tommaso's motivation in composing the *Trattatto di ben governare* lay in widespread doubts over the continuing authority and leadership of the Church and the Empire, as well as a growing disenchantment with the effectiveness of laws and upholding of morals, the work's primary achievement appears to have been the attainment of recognition in the eyes of the lord of Ferrara, Borso d'Este, sometime between 1452 and 1462. [139] To judge by the extensive knowledge of the Ferrara courtiers and members of the Este family apparent in Liuti's *Declaratorio,* composed at the very end of Borso's reign, he then succeeded in maintaining his presence at court.

This presence may have carried with it a status of practical and exploitable significance. It was requisite, for instance, in order to attract the attention and favour of the Este *signore*. Liuti may have gained an added benefit from friendly relations with Prisciano Prisciani. The mid-Quattrocento subversion of Ferrara's governing bodies by the ducal administration was most in evidence in the fiscal sector, which as a consequence made an individual such as the Prisciani, *fattore generale* between 1458 and 1463, an extremely influential personage in Ferrara.[140] In his role as *fattore generale* Prisciani took charge not only of ducal finances, from managing everyday expenses at court to the vast external ducal holdings, but also of the major part of the communal incomings and outgoings which had been handled by the city magistracy until the mid-fifteenth century.[141] Legal documents most often referred to the *fattori*

[139] Acito, *Trattato*, p. 9

[140] Folin, 'Gli Estensi', p. 34.

[141] ibid., p. 34; idem., *Rinascimento Estense*, pp. 134, 148.

generali, such as Prisciani, as *procuratores domini.*[142] The *fattore generale* was considered the ultimate decision-maker of the court, 'the last ear and first mouth of the will of the court.'[143]

Liuti's appointment as the main Lenten preacher for 1460 might be taken as confirmation that the Dominican had gained the attention of the duke, as the appointment required the latter's confirmation. The role of Lenten preacher thrust Liuti into the public eye, and gave him an opportunity to impress and to air his views. Some sermons in the cycle display the friar's firm determination to identify and censure unorthodox practice, and could have helped to promote his candidacy for the the role of inquisitor-general (for which also, as mentioned earlier, the ability to preach well was a requirement).

Indeed, Liuti's keen interest in deviations in faith and his subsequent appointment as inquisitor-general may hold the key to explaining the friar's attempts to gain the attention of the *signore* (or at least it represents the outcome). Inquisitorial boundaries had by this period begun to conform to political boundaries.[144] This can also be seen in Liuti's case. Ostensibly, the friar was responsible for the entire San Domenico province. However, his jurisdiction is described by contemporary sources as being Ferrara and Modena, and by one source Reggio also – the three principal centres of the Este dominion.[145] Whilst not an 'official' state officer – in the sense that he was not appointed to his post by Borso d'Este – his jurisdiction as inquisitor certainly

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[142] Folin, *Rinscimento Estense*, pp. 130-131.

[143] Guido Guerzoni, 'La Camera Ducale Estense tra Quattro e Cinquecento: la struttura organizzativa e i meccanismi operativi', *Storia di Ferrara volume VI: Il Rinascimento situazioni e personaggi*, ed. Adriano Prosperi (Ferrara: 2000), pp. 159-183, at p. 168; Although Prisciani was no longer *fattore generale* at the time of the *Declaratorio*'s composition, he remained part of the duke's *Consiglio segreto* and one of his closest advisers. See Folin, *Rinascimento Estense*, p. 146.

[144] Tavuzzi, *Renaissance Insquisitors*, p.25

[145] Dondaine, 'Le manuel', p. 168; Zambotti, 'Diario ferrarese', p. 28.

appears to have limited itself to the boundaries of the Este state. Moreover, Liuti's continued presence and recognition at court was essential to the smooth operation of any inquisitorial duties. In order to carry out his work with any degree of success, the inquisitor had to have the cooperation of the secular authorities – manpower, places for incarceration and inquisition, and the fulfullment of prescribed punishments were all carried out or supplied by the secular authorities.[146] In addition, in his study of Renaissance inquisitors in Italy, Tavuzzi argues that the last quarter of the fifteenth century saw this unofficial state posting become official, with secular rulers appointing their own 'state inquisitors' from one of their courtiers. Liuti, then, appears as a precursor and stepping-stone to this change.[147] The growing influence of ducal bodies in Ferrara also made accessible to Ferrarese citizens privileged positions within these same institutions – the more that Ferrara magistracies were absorbed into ducal administration, the more these bodies, such as the ducal *Camera* and the chancery, came to be staffed by Ferrarese, with minimal input from citizens of the rest of the subject territory.[148] Though not seeking a secular administrative position, such a situation could only have played to the advantage of the Ferrarese Liuti, whose family was well-established in the city. Although his promotion came from the Dominican master-general, the friar did play the part of a courtier at the Este court, and it seems likely that Borso's patronage would have had influence in his appointment.

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[146] Tavuzzi, *Renaissance Inquisitors*, pp. 36.37. Tavuzzi, p. 38, also notes that since 1268 the Ferrara statutes had called for civic authorities to assist in the persecution of heresy.

[147] ibid., p. 26.

[148] E. Sestan, 'Le origini delle Signorie cittadine', *La crisi degli ordinamenti comunali e le origini dello Stato del Rinascimento,* ed. Giorgio Chittolini (Bologna: 1979), pp. 53-76; Folin, 'Gli Estensi e Ferrara', p. 34; Dean, 'Commune and Despot', at p. 195-197. This privilege extended outside of Ferrara: by the end of the fifteenth century, approximately two-thirds of captains and *commissari* charged with governing the provinces were of Ferrarese origin.

Equally, the secular authority had a vested interest in forging links with a Dominican inquisitor. Even though there are plentiful instances of the secular authorities proving uncooperative to an inquisitor's requests (in 1458 Pope Calixtus III, for instance, found it necessary to reissue *Ad extirpanda* – an edict ordering secular authorities to assist in investigations and persecutions of heresies), inquisitors were regularly called upon as mediators and adjudicators over civil crimes, as well as revisers of communal laws.[149] By the last quarter of the fifteenth century, it was not uncommon for inquisitors also to be appointed preachers and counsellors by secular rulers.[150]

Despite its intention to garner the favour of the duke, Liuti's *Trattato* should not be taken solely as a work of adulatory literature with no practical function. Rubinstein argued that works such as the *Trattato*, addressed to one of the lesser rulers in Italy, encompassed a different significance than those, 'eulogistic works…which emphasised the majesty of a "natural" monarch', such as the king of Naples, as improved government was crucial to enhanced security for these less-obvious monarchs.[151] Andrea Romano likewise has argued that mirrors-for-princes were designed to be genuinely useful on a practical level, by becoming the foundation of real political and normative actions.[152] For instance, a similar work to the *Trattato* composed by Diomede Carafa in 1476 for the duchess of Ferrara, Eleonora of Aragon, *I doveri del principe*, contained such practical and pragmatic advice as the need to

[149] Tavuzzi, *Renaissance Inquisitors*, pp. 38, 44.

[150] ibid., p. 44.

[151] Nicolai Rubinstein, 'Italian Political Thought, 1450-1530', *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1700*, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge: 1991), pp. 30-65, at p. 31.

[152] Andrea Romano, '"Specula principum" e legislazione regia nell'esperienza dell'Italia meridionale', *Specula principum*, ed. Angela De Benedictis (Frankfurt: 1999), pp. 171-192, at p. 173.

keep a standing army.[153] Equally, similar works dedicated to Borso did not all solely pander to Borso's vanity. For instance, Michele Savonarola's *De foelici progressu*, whilst identifying some of the virtues necessary for ruling well in the figure of Borso, also counselled the importance of the study of history and rhetoric over interest in military matters and amusements such as the hunt – in which the Este lord was well-known for indulging.[154]

Echoes of this pragmatism can also be seen within Liuti's work. Tommaso advises Borso, for example, that a prince should be feared, and that justice should be meted out to friends as well as strangers in order to achieve this fear in his subjects.[155] Repressive laws are deemed necessary to keep the populace in check, while the use of strong punishments to set an example are also suggested, as, 'the punishment of one is [makes] the fear of the multitude.'[156] Furthermore, respect and support for religious and the suppression of heresies are two issues which were commented upon and were of institutional and perhaps even personal signficance to the Dominican. Indeed, Liuti's emphasis on respect for the Church and religious may have been instigated by

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[153] Rubinstein, 'Italian Political Thought', p. 32.

[154] Gabriella Zuccolin, 'Princely virtues in "de foelici progressu"', *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages 1200-1500*, eds. Bejczy & Nederman (Turnhout: 2007), pp. 237-258, at p. 246.

[155] Liuti, 'Trattato', p. 66 - *tri altri modi per li quali la tua ducale et excellentissima signoria debbia essere temuta…Secunda la tua excellentia la virtute de la iustitia ad ministri non solum a li extranei sed etiam a li amici benivoli et coniuncti, perchè dice el philosopho nel octavo libro de la Politica: quod bene operans nulli parcit quia nec pro patre fratre dimittendum est operari iuste. Imo nel septimo de la Politica dice che più conveniente è al principe obeservare la iustitia ne li coniuncti e amici ne li alieni et essere più severo in quelli si agunt contra iustitiam et tunc magis è timuto.*

[156] ibid., p. 54 - *Iuste sono princeps illustrissime, quando per quelle singulariter se rimoveno li inordinati et superllui apetiti et maxime de le femine nel suo excessivo ornato per lo quale ne la republica occurrendo mali senca numero…tunc erunt iuste et a Idio gratissime et utile maxime a la republica se quilli sarano rimossi non obstante alchuna consuetudine contraria, perchè quella non è consuetudo ma più presto corruptella...Serano etiam iustissime se la tua celsitudine per quelle non permetterà vivere li pravi et turbatori...*; ibid., p. 66 – *perchè la pena de uno è timore de multi*.

the Este predilection for repossessing and exploiting Church lands for their own ends.[157]

Liuti's sermon for Palm Sunday was also intended to provide real support to the security of secular rule in Ferrara. The key difference lay in the intended primary audience. The sermon was designed to reach the ears of Borso's subjects, rather than the duke himself, and as such displays Liuti's willingness to translate political and social ideas from one medium to another, and one type of audience to another. It illustrates his worth as an instrument for the maintenance of the laws and security, and signorial rule, in Ferrara. At a time of steady political change, when the ducal administration was supplanting the powers of the city council, the preacher promoted the rule of one, the importance of 'counsellors', and the necessity of continuing unity. Further, the emphasis on the importance of justice present in both the sermon and the *Trattato* is reflective of its centrality to Borso's own image-building, and is perhaps evidence of the friar's consciousness of the importance of this virtue to the duke. The courtiers and officials who visited the Palazzo Schifanoia and saw the symbolic imagery displayed there seem to be the same individuals to whom parts of the Palm Sunday sermon appear specifically directed. Contemporaries would also have been witness to the inscription asserting the *signore*'s love of Justice which was on the statue of Borso erected in 1454.[158] This monument was originally placed facing the Palazzo della Giustizia, the seat of communal government. Liuti's deliberation on the topic only served to recall the efforts made by the ducal government to raise the profile of Justice and link it to Este rule.

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[157] Trevor Dean, *Land and Power in Late Medieval Ferrara: The Rule of the Este, 1350-1450* (Cambridge: 1987), pp. 29-46.

[158] The inscription read: *Hanc tibi viventi Ferrara grata columnan/Ob merita in patriam princeps iustissime Borsi/Dedicat Estensi qui dux a sanguine primus/Excipis imperium et placida regis omnia pace* (Gundersheimer, *Ferrara*, p. 139 n. 19).

Nevertheless, the preacher's own convictions were not subsumed by a need to appease the secular authority. Themes of obedience, stability, and working for the common good also feature within the Palm Sunday sermon – themes typical to Thomist thought as well as to the promotion of Borso's rule. Such a connection, suggested earlier, between Thomism and Este political thought may have been influenced by the long-standing rapport between the Este and Ferrarese Dominicans.[159] In such ideas, therefore – a similarity in aims if not in motive – could be found grounds for cooperation. Moreover, through the appointment to deliver an entire Lenten cycle of sermons, Liuti had been given the opportunity to preach on a wide variety of subjects outside of things relating to governance and the state. The preacher's contribution was thus coopted, invited – not coerced.

Even so, the balance of power in the relationship is clearly revealed in Liuti's somewhat ignominious fate following his patron's death. Even though Borso's successor Ercole echoed and even built upon the aura of religiosity with which Borso had endowed his own rule, this did not appear to open up an avenue to the new duke's ear for Tommaso.[160] Religious thought and practice remained an important point of discussion at court, with Ercole personally intervening in the argument between Dominicans and Franciscans over the Immaculate Conception, but Liuti appears to have played no part in this. Indeed, in the very year that Liuti was replaced as inquisitor-general, another Dominican, Vincenzo Bandello, dedicated a work on the Immaculate Conception to Ercole.[161] Ercole also built on the foundations laid by his

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[159] See above, pp. 142-143.

[160] Gundersheimer, *Ferrara*, pp. 185-187.

[161] Vincenzo Bandello, *Epistola narrativa disputationis factae de conceptione beatae virginis Mariae coram celsitudine sua*, composed in 1481 (Battini, 'La cultura a corte', p. 313).

brother, continuing to emphasise the image of a benign paternalistic ruler fuelled by religious purpose and associated with Justice – but Tommaso appears to have played no part in the reinforcement of these ideas.[162]

The role of inquisitor-general continued to occupy some status at the court, but Ercole had Liuti replaced with a man of his own choosing. In 1481 the direct intervention of Pope Sixtus IV was sought to replace Liuti with Giovanni Rafanelli da Ferrara, despite the objections of the Dominican Master General.[163] Rafanelli enjoyed great patronage at Ercole's court, and accompanied Ippolito d'Este to Rome for the wedding of Lucrezia Borgia to Alfonso d'Este.[164] The new inquisitor-general was also, unlike Liuti, an observant Dominican. To judge from the patronage shown by Ercole to the observants (both the congregations in Ferrara and individuals such as Girolamo Savonarola), this appointment was motivated by personal preference as well as political pragmatism. Ultimately, despite his obvious talents, Liuti was undone by his lack of links to the new ruler, and appears to have been replaced, like so many of his compatriots, in the restructuring of ducal administration Ercole initiated upon his succession to the lordship of Ferrara.[165] Whilst his court position and any influence therein was handed to Rafanelli, the influence which originated from his other role as preacher was also entrusted to another. The sermons of Girolamo Savonarola would persuade Ercole in Easter 1496 to enact proclamations against blasphemy, sodomy, gambling, Jews, prostitution and numerous other issues, against many of which Savonarola's fellow Dominican Tommaso had also spoken.[166] The relationship between Savonarola and Ercole has been well-studied, but the fiery Dominican's

[162] Chambers & Dean, *Clean Hands*, p. 42.

[163] Tavuzzi, *Renaissance Inquisitors*, p. 17.

[164] Zambotti, 'Diario ferrarese', p. 278.

[165] Folin, *Rinascimento Estense*, p. 146.

[166] Chambers & Dean, *Clean Hands*, pp. 148-149; Gundersheimer, p. 197.

influence falls into the category of those famous preachers of the fifteenth century who have since overshadowed the similar, albeit perhaps more understated, work and intentions of their fellow mendicant preachers.[167] The consciously pious Ercole continued personally to invite other mendicants to preach in Ferrara, such as the Franciscan Francesco Vaccari da Argenta in 1496 and 1497. Francesco Vaccari wrote down all his sermons from Ferrara, Bologna, and other towns some twenty years later. The prologue to his Ferrara sermons includes an acknowledgement and thanks to Ercole for the invitation to preach.[168] It seems reasonable to hypothesise that other preachers continued to deliver sermons in line with the political ideology of the Este dukes, and collections such as Vaccari's allow for further study into this possibility.

[167] On Savonarola's influence in Ferrara, see the relevant articles in *Girolamo Savonarola. Da Ferrara all'Europa*, eds. Gigliola Fragnito & Mario Miegge, (Florence: 2001), esp. Marco Folin, 'Gli oratori estense nel sistema politico italiano (1440-1505)', pp. 51-84.

[168] The collection is now kept at Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS F.1.11-13.

Chapter 4:

'Although it is satisfactory to secure the good of one person alone,
it is nobler and more divine to secure it for people and for city-states'[1]

Comparisons of Preaching in Support of the Governing Authority

It is possible to shed further light on the relationship between preacher and secular authority by undertaking a comparative analysis of the sermons and preachers discussed in detail in the previous chapters. The main areas for comparison will be threefold, and crucially will involve comparing the findings against the historiographical orthodoxy on the subject, in addition to highlighting and clarifying the similarities and differences between the experiences of Coltellini, Mattei, and Liuti.

The first section examines the background context of the sermons, including methods of selection by the civic authorities and the potential significance of the preachers' origins and links to the city where they preached. The following analyses the disparate styles of delivery and the factors which led to certain approaches being adopted over others. These include: the occasion for the sermon; 'admonitory' and 'consolatory' methods of delivery; common themes which exist in all or most of the sermons covered; the sources and *exempla* used by the preachers, and by contrast what was not employed; the influence of humanism and classical oratory; and the relationship of location to the sermon. The much-debated question of whether daily liturgy had a profound effect on the content of the sermon is also addressed. The final part will investigate the objectives behind the relationship between preacher and secular authority, and how this interaction was shaped by the aims of the secular

[1] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, I.2

authority and the preacher as a mendicant friar, as well as asking whether any personal objectives of the preacher in choosing to deliver a sermon in support of the secular authority can be discerned.

1. 'Preparing the Sermon': Background

1.1. Selection:

Previous scholarship has established that a town's main Lenten and Advent preachers were selected by the governing authority, and it has been highlighted that competition for the most popular preachers could be intense.[2] Letters sent by the Medicean government of Florence testify to the importance of attaining preferred appointees, as they evince the vast network of patronage which was called upon to exercise influence in these matters.[3] Likewise, the efforts of the Milanese and Venetian governments to capture their desired preacher can also be attested.[4] It is arguable whether the ability to attract celebrated preachers was a policy open only to the larger and more powerful cities and governing authorities. The 'draw' of the major city for the preacher appears at first to be confirmed by Savonarola, who, in addition to dismissing his native Ferrara as unsuitable for his work, stated that preaching in Florence would see his teachings and aspirations for reform disseminated to the peninsula as a whole, as Florence was the 'heart of Italy.'[5] On closer inspection,

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[2] For instance, Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, pp. 12-13; John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order From Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: 1968), p. 517.

[3] Howard, 'The Politics of Devotion', p. 33.

[4] Rusconi, *Predicazione e vita religiosa*, pp. 195-196.

[5] Pasquale Villari, *Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola*, trans. Linda Villari, 2 vols. (London: 1889), I, p. 89; Roberto Ridolfi, *Vita di Girolamo Savonarola*, 2 vols. (Rome: 1952), p. 21; Savonarola

however, this observation appears in the friar's *Compendium Revelationum*, written in 1495 – after the friar had already established himself in Florence during his second stint in the city. The idea of the dissemination of his teachings through preaching in a major city is not found in his writings before late 1494.[6] Instead, it was the civic authority – in the guise of Lorenzo de' Medici – which had been first drawn to the preacher, rather than the original desire originating from Savonarola.[7] Moreover, towns such as Iesi, Terni, Recanati, and Massa Marittima crop up in the records as places where illustrious preachers such as Bernardino da Siena and Giacomo della Marca delivered Lent or Advent sermons, providing examples which appear to attest to the ability of these more minor towns to also attract more well-known individuals.

The example of Mattei adheres most closely to the image of the sought-after, renowned itinerant preacher. Before being approached by the civic authorities in Venice and Udine, it is likely that Mattei came to prominence due to his preaching activity in other parts of Italy, particularly Florence and the ecumenical Council held there in 1438-9.[8] Efforts to entice Mattei back to Udine could be reflected in the gifts presented to the friar by the commune in 1440 and 1444.[9] However, the role which Venice played in bringing the preacher to Udine should not be discounted, and indeed may provide another explanation as to how renowned preachers could be appointed to preach in minor towns in some instances. The Udine council had the weight of Venetian confirmation behind the invitation to Mattei, and the republic had also

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mentioned in a letter to his mother in 1489 that his preaching has better results elsewhere than in his native Ferrara, Villari, I, pp. 85-86.

[6] Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: 1970), p. 97.

[7] ibid., p. 74.

[8] See Chapter 2, p. 101.

[9] Udine, Biblioteca Civica Vincenzo Joppi, 'Cameraria di Comune', 82, f. 97; 84, f. 12.

successfully appointed the friar as Lenten preacher for Venice a decade earlier, which suggests a previous relationship between Mattei and Venice, in addition to the links the Dominican had with his hometown.[10] The example of Mattei's appointment invites the question whether, as certain city-states expanded their territories to encompass other towns over the course of the Quattrocento, there was a greater prevalence of the larger powers to exert their influence in order to appoint the preacher of their choice within the whole of their subject territories, as was the case with Mattei in Udine. There is, for instance, also the example of the captain of Castrocaro, Giovanni Giugni, writing to Lorenzo de' Medici in 1472 in order to put forward proposals for new legislation and to request that Lorenzo appoint preachers to come from Florence in order to solidify support for the new laws.[11]

The selections of Coltellini and Liuti, on the other hand, are perhaps indicative of a more regular, but less often mentioned, process – appointment from a local convent. Although both Peter Howard's investigation of the San Lorenzo sacristy records in Florence and Bernadette Paton's earlier study of Sienese preaching drew attention to the large-scale employment of preachers drawn from local churches and convents, there has never been close attention paid to either the activities of local preachers, nor how they came to the attention of the governing authorities (which was necessary for Lent and Advent appointments at least) without enjoying the established renown of the celebrated itinerant preachers.[12] Outside of Italy, Larissa Taylor has concluded that city magistrates in France would most commonly resort to appointing preachers

[10] Bruni, 'Memorie del suo convento', p. 7.

[11] Howard, 'The Politics of Devotion', p. 32.

[12] ibid., p. 35; Paton, *Preaching Friars*, p. 65.

from local convents, even for the main cycles of Lent and Advent.[13] The sacristy records of San Pietro Martire in Udine and those of the Cattedrale di San Giorgio of Ferrara appear to confirm the picture given by Paton and Howard, frequently identifying a local convent alongside the name of the preacher, a frequency which also holds true for Lenten and Advent appointees.[14] It is perhaps by virtue of its more customary nature that this process has received less commentary from contemporaries and historians alike.

Aside from attendance at ecclesiastical councils and general chapters, there is no recorded activity for either Coltellini or Liuti outside of their respective home towns. Certainly, there is no extant evidence of preaching in other towns (though Coltellini, at least, does appear to have delivered orations at the Council of Pisa). Thus, they most probably did not come to the attention of the governing authority through their exploits abroad. However, both appear to have been well-acquainted with elements of the elite classes within their cities, and, as a consequence, with the ruling authority. This is evidenced by funerary orations for well-known Bolognese citizens, in Coltellini's case (in addition to his appointment as Lenten preacher for 1417 probably coming as a result of well-received preaching for the previous year), as well as perhaps by his presence at the Studio in Bologna, where many of his peers had political and administrative links with Bologna's government; and, for Liuti, presence at court and a work dedicated to the *signore* of Ferrara.[15] Although it must be

[13] Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ*, p. 20.

[14] However, it must be noted that a convent or church is not always named. Whether this was because the preacher was not local, or simple omission, is not known.

[15] Antonio Ivan Pini, 'I maestri dello Studio nell'attività amministrativa e politica del comune bolognese', *Cultura universitaria e pubblici poteri a Bologna dal XII al XV secolo* (Bologna: 1990), pp. 151-178, p. 173.

admitted that, in the case of the latter, a treatise dedicated to a secular lord does not, by itself, confirm a familiarity between the Este ruler and the friar – instead only affirming the existence of a one-way relationship – the work does denote the friar's concern that his advice should come to the attention of the secular ruler. Thus, in the cases of Coltellini and Liuti, it appears that reputation closer to home brought them to the attention of the governing authorities. This cultivation of prior links with the elites of the city may have been a common, or most effective, route for mendicant friars to obtain an appointment for the main preaching cycles.

The governing authority may equally have preferred to select those preachers with whom it had prior links, especially at politically-sensitive times. Paton has highlighted the differences in preaching between the local Sienese preachers and their more celebrated contemporary, Bernardino da Siena. The main difference remarked upon was that the local preachers appeared less extreme in their pronouncements – not going to the same dramatic lengths, for example, to engender a fear of the evils of heresy among the laity.[16] Paton did not, however, suggest any reasons behind the more moderate tone of the local preachers. Indeed, the difference could well lie solely in Bernardino's dramatic style. A partial explanation can also, however, perhaps be sought within the governing authority's fear that vehement preaching on issues such as lay heresy could lead to violent civic disorder – a situation which it would presumably not have tolerated being provoked by their own city's preachers.[17] It can be suggested that the local preacher was more aware of this possible outcome and its repercussions for themselves, and as a result consciously chose to moderate their

[16] Paton, *Preaching Friars*, pp. 300-301.

[17] As for instance, the expulsion of Bernardino da Feltre by the Florentine government in 1488 for inciting civil unrest against the Jewish population. He was subsequently severely warned to rein in his preaching in Venetian territories in 1492. See Muzzarelli, *Pescatori di uomini*, pp. 249, 258.

sermons accordingly. Jussi Hanska has stated the belief that model sermons often contained more explicit criticisms than the live version of sermons. Taking the example of model sermons which spoke of the exploitation of the lower classes by the elite, Hanska argued that they could not have been actually preached in the same terms because there is little documentary evidence suggesting that they led to the civil unrest among the poor one might have expected. He concludes, therefore, that a level of self-censorship was practiced by mendicant preachers.[18] It is probable that such a decision, taken with regards to one theme, might also extend to other sermon topics, including others of a socio-politically sensitive nature, such as those which touched upon the governing authority. Taking into account the immediate contemporary context, it is perhaps not surprising to find that Coltellini's sermons appear the least critical in tone.[19] Local preachers may not only have been more amenable to such a task (or perhaps more controllable), but their local experience could also have stood them in good stead.

1.2. The importance of 'local knowledge'?

Previous scholarship on fifteenth-century Italian preaching has been dominated by the itinerant mendicant preacher. In this sense, the subjects of this study already differ in that they preached within their hometowns, and two of them (Coltellini and Liuti) appear to have been sedentary, whilst Mattei virtually ended his itinerancy once he returned to Udine. It has been argued that itinerant preachers held the advantage of being able to highlight their lack of ties to the city within which they delivered their sermons and to use this as a tool with which to convince the listeners of the

[18] Hanska, *The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons*, p. 121.

[19] See below, pp. 204-206.

objectivity of their words, and often did so.[20] This can be compared to the tradition which circulated through many of the towns of northern and central Italy of appointing a foreigner as *podestà* of the city for the reason of his lack of links to any one political interest.[21] However, the appointments of Coltellini and, to a lesser extent, Liuti, suggest that other factors were considered ahead of a perception of objectivity when it came to preaching on a potentially sensitive topic such as support for the governing authority. One reason – the existence of prior links to the ruling elite – has already been suggested above. Moreover, in terms of the perception of vested interest or bias, the extent to which foreign origins affected a preacher's relationship with the audience is certainly arguable. Indeed, only Bernardino da Siena is testified as using his origin from elsewhere and the transitory nature of his stay in order to prove his objectivity.[22] Moreover, any preacher, local or otherwise, still possessed their distinct status as mendicant friars – religious at least ostensibly above the worldly concerns of local civic and political issues. It was this same theoretical detachment from temporal influences which spurred city governments, such as that of Siena, into employing religious in official public positions.[23]

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[20] As noted in the Introduction, pp. 20-21; Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, p.101, has, for instance, argued that it was a crucial factor in selection, especially when the preacher was also required to enact a peacemaking.

[21] Edward Coleman, 'Cities and Communes', *Italy in the Central Middle Ages, 1000-1300*, ed. David Abulafia (Oxford: 2004), pp. 27-57, pp. 39-41.

[22] Bernardino da Siena, 'Prediche volgari', I, p. 325, 525.

[23] This promotion of detachment from worldly concerns was pursued both by the Church and at times also by the secular authorities, who were keen to ensure that individuals did not profit from both governmental and ecclesiastical offices. See for instance Brian Pullan, ''Three Orders of Inhabitants': Social Hierarchies in the Republic of Venice', *Orders and Hierarchies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. Jeffrey Denton (London: 1999), pp. 147-168, pp. 154-155. Also see Trexler, *Public Life*, pp. 33, 38-39. As mentioned, this detachment was the friar's ability *in theory*. Narrative sources illustrate the scepticism which could, in reality, meet the religious figure's proclamations to be above temporal matters and desires. See Penn R. Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval*

As an alternative to the historiographical perception of the potential popular reaction to a visiting famous preacher, it can be suggested that the local origin of a preacher could have as much, if perhaps not more, positive impact on his reception, both in cultural and political terms, in the regard of both his audience and the secular authorities. With regards to the latter, as a resident native of Ferrara, Liuti was aware of the duke's public image, and his promotion of ideal rule along similar lines appears to have helped him to curry favour with the governing authority. Further, in the case of Coltellini, at least, it is quite evident that the local political situation influenced the words of his sermon. During what was clearly a delicate period in Bolognese politics – a heretofore never witnessed, and still extremely recent, alliance of factions – a knowledgeable hand was required to steer through the complexities, and instability, of the current arrangement. The selection of a local preacher, immersed in his town's politics and culture – and yet separated from it by virtue of his mendicant status – to speak words of peace and unity, appears a rational choice at such a critical moment. Indeed, assertions of the virtues of civic unity and loyalty, made by Coltellini within his Easter Sunday sermons, would perhaps not have rung as true had the preacher not been able to include himself within the selfsame bond of unity. Neither was Coltellini unique in providing patriotic links between himself, his audience, and the city they

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Literature (Princeton, NJ: 1986); G. Geltner, 'William of St. Amour's *De periculis novissimorum temporum*: A False Start in Medieval Antifraternalism?', *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life*, eds. Michael F. Cusato & G. Geltner (Leiden: 2009), pp. 105-118, notes the continuing literary criticism of friars throughout the later Middle Ages and into the early modern period, and also looks at physical violence against friars through cases in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italy, pp. 116-118. See also the articles by Szittya and Geoffrey Dipple within this volume; On employment of religious as civic officials, see Trexler, *Public Life*, pp. 30-33; Frances Andrews, 'Regular Observance and Communal Life: Siena and the Employment of Religious', *Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honour of Brenda M. Bolton*, eds. F. Andrews, C. Egger, & C. M. Rousseau (Leiden: 2004), pp. 357-383.

both inhabited. Giovanni Dominici, for instance, emphasised his link to his fellow Florentines within his sermons, as well as exhorting them to defend their *patria*.[24]

Local origin could also be a positive factor in actual communication. In this, Mattei provides a good example. Though he is distinguished from his colleagues in that he spoke on behalf of a ruling authority which was not native to his city, he was able to do so in a manner which a Venetian preacher might have found difficult – in the Friulan dialect. Small sections of the Latin sermons which survive actually remain in the vernacular in which they were originally preached, for instance in Mattei's sermon for the feast-day of the Virgin Mary.[25] These sections are highly significant, for they suggest that Mattei employed the native Friulan dialect – as someone who spent his childhood in the region could.[26] This is an important distinction to make, as the Friulan dialect was noticeably different from the more widely-spoken Tuscan or even Venetian dialects.[27] The importance of this ability is revealed when it is remembered that one of Bernardino da Siena's most-admired traits was his innate command of the various dialects of the towns which he visited. Bernardino recognised this in himself, stating that, 'when I go preaching from land to land…I make sure that I always use the language of the people when I speak to them, for I have learned different languages and I know how to discuss a multitude of subjects in them.'[28] But Bernardino's talent did not translate itself to every preacher. For instance, Giacomo della Marca used interpreters at times in Italy, which could have lessened the

[24] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, pp. 58-59.

[25] Mattei, 'Sermones de sanctis', pp. 112-132.

[26] Natella, 'La Lauda di Leonardo de Utino', pp. 252-257.

[27] Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, p. 31.

[28] Bernardino da Siena, 'Prediche volgari', I, pp. 672-673.

immediate impact of his preaching.[29] Savonarola was ridiculed for his Ferrarese accent and his preaching was largely considered a failure on his first visit to Florence in the 1480s.[30] Certainly, the use of an interpreter or preaching with a distinct lack of fluency in the local dialect would not have been ideal. It seems a logical step, then, where one could not find someone with the rare talent of a Bernardino, to employ a native preacher able to communicate the cause of support for the secular authority in an effective and thoroughly comprehensible manner.

1.3. Occasion for the Sermon:

In the late medieval Islamic world, Friday preaching was specifically reserved for sermons of a politically-minded nature.[31] An equivalent restriction does not appear to have been placed on similar sermons in the western Christian world, at least in Italy, although it must be pointed out that no scholarly work on preaching in medieval Italy has previously set about analysing the days on which sermons with a political slant were delivered. The examples here, however, indicate that both a variety of occasions might be employed to the cause of supporting the secular authority, and also hint at a certain emerging pattern. That is, that all three preachers chose to include this theme in sermons delivered on important days in the liturgical calendar and/or on days with significant symbolic context.

[29] 'La vita di S. Giacomo della Marca (1393-1476), secondo gli antichi codici di Fr. Venanzio da Fabriano (1434-1506)', ed. U. Picciafuoco (Monteprandone: 1977), p. 28. On the problem of local dialects for preachers, see also Francesco Bruni, 'Tra Catalogna e Italia: introno all predicazione nella prima metà del XV secolo', *Miscel-lànea d'homenatge a Modest Prats* (Girona: 2002), pp. 283-308, esp. pp. 294-295.

[30] Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence*, p. 84.

[31] Jonathan P. Berkey, 'Audience and Authority in Medieval Islam: The Case of Popular Preachers', eds. Katherine L. Jansen & Miri Rubin, *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching 1200-1500* (Turnhout: 2010), pp. 105-120, pp. 107-108. The preacher who delivered these sermons, the *khatib*, was selected by the ruling authority.

Coltellini and Liuti both delivered their sermons during Lent and, more explicitly, on prominent Sundays (Easter and Palm Sunday, respectively) – days on which they were more likely to attract a larger-than-usual audience.[32] In itself this could suggest that the preachers wished these particular sermons to reach as many people as possible. Pragmatically, Sundays were also the days on which the governing class were most likely to be in attendance. Savonarola notably complained that a city's rulers were always the most loath to attend sermons, though it must be taken into account that Savonarola's sermons were quite different to the ones concerned here, as they sought to castigate and criticise the Florentine government, rather than support it – a factor which might provide one explanation for the dearth of this type of audience at his sermons.[33] Coltellini's sermons were meant for the ruling body, and by delivering on the most prominent Sunday of the liturgical calendar, he may have ensured that the majority of them would be in attendance. Likewise, Liuti's sermon also seems directed at least in part at the governing class of Ferrara, and thus may have influenced the Dominican's choice to deliver it on a Sunday. In a further example, a copy of a sermon delivered to the government of Siena by an anonymous Sienese friar also indicates that it was delivered on a Sunday.[34]

The day of choice could also hold added symbolic significance for the message of the sermon, as is apparent for Coltellini's sermon of 1416 (peace being one of several

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[32] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, p. 40.

[33] Roberto Ridolfi, *The Life of Girolamo Savonarola*, trans. C. Grayson (London: 1959), pp. 40-41.

[34] Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 294, ff. 38v-39v, f. 38v – *Sermo habitus a potestate Senensium dum ei arma donarentur.* The year, or the specific Sunday, is unknown. The manuscript is fifteenth-century and is a compilation of many differing classical, ecclesiastical, and oratorical works. Those works which do bear dates (such as a letter to the bishop of Ferrara dated 8 January 1442) centre around the middle of the century.

themes most commonly associated with Easter Sunday).[35] Moreover, Easter Sunday, in addition to being the culmination of the most significant period of preaching in the year, marked the end of one period in the Christian mentality and the beginning of something new, a feeling into which sermons such as Coltellini's on the striving for peace and the maintenance of unity might tap. The day, then, appears to have been especially chosen in order to better underscore the relative importance of the message. This appears even clearer in the decision to deliver a sermon in Udine on Venetian governance on the feast-day of St Mark. As patron saint of Venice and the mythical founder of the Friulan Church, St Mark provided a link between the two sides, in addition to connecting the success of Venice with the revered evangelist.

The greater ritual practice which could encompass the sermon should also be taken into account. Preaching was often delivered in conjunction with other events, such as processions or Mass.[36] Considering the sermon as part of a greater ritual whole does not diminish its impact. On the contrary, the inclusion of the sermon within a participatory religious event for the citizen body underlines its value by highlighting its central role within the interconnected spheres of religious and public life. Moreover, the preacher could often lead as well as take part in the corresponding rituals, coordinating and guiding responses which often held political as well as spiritual meaning.[37] Although there is, unfortunately, no direct evidence indicating that any of the sermons discussed here were combined with other activities, the likelihood that this was so with regards to the sermons of Coltellini and Liuti appears

[35] The extent to which the liturgical calendar influenced and directed the content of the sermon is discussed below, pp. 237-241.

[36] Peter Howard, 'Preaching the Liturgy in Renaissane Florence', *Predication et liturgie au Moyen Age*, eds. Nicole Beriou & Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout: 2008), pp. 313-333, p. 314.

[37] Daniel Bornstein, *The Bianchi of 1399* (London: 1993), pp. 163-164.

high. Both Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday sermons normally followed a religious procession.[38] In addition, Coltellini's sermon of 1416 bears the hallmarks of a peace sermon, which was frequently accompanied by processions and other events designed to reconcile hostile parties within a city.[39] Feast-days, too, could be witness to processions, particularly if the saint in question had a special connection to the city. For instance, the feast-day of John the Baptist, the patron saint of Florence, would begin with the tolling of bells to call the public to hear a sermon, which would be followed by Mass and a procession, while Bologna's requirement for processions for San Petronio were inserted into the city's statutes.[40] As the founder of the Friulan Church and the patron saint of Venice, St Mark's feast-day was marked with special celebrations in Udine, as it was in all Venetian territories.[41] Naturally, no definitive conclusion can be drawn from these examples only, but they do suggest that sermons which touched upon the rule and administration of a town, while not necessarily restricted to a certain date, were reserved for important or auspicious times, with the choice being influenced by symbolic significance, the desire for a large or particular type of audience, and, perhaps, by the perceived importance of the subject matter.

1.4. Location:

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[38] Hermann J. Gräf, *Palmenweihe und Palmenprozession in der lateinschen Liturgie* (St Augustin: 1959), pp. 54-69; Trexler, *Public Life*, p. 339; Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: 1989), pp. 108-109.

[39] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, p.85-123

[40] Howard, 'Preaching the Liturgy', p. 317; Ady, *The Bentivoglio*, p. 169.

[41] Antonio Niero, *Tradizioni popolari veneziane e venete: I mesi dell'anno, La feste religiose*, eds. Andrea Gallo & Sara Giacomelli Scalabrin (Venice: 1990), pp. 157-161; In 1296 it was decreed at the provincial synod in Grado that the feast-days of Hermagoras, Fortunatus and Mark should be commemorated throughout the Venetian dioceses with celebrations and processions. Silvio Tramontin, 'Il "kalendarium" veneziano', *Il culto dei santi a Venezia*, ed. idem (Venice: 1965), pp. 275-328, pp. 278-279.

The location for preaching could play a significant role in reinforcing the preacher's message. As best as can be determined, in each case discussed here the sermons took place within the church, rather than outdoors in the piazza. Although this may not have provided the same scale of spectacle as the outdoor preaching of famous preachers such as Roberto Caracciolo, who had to move to the main piazza in Perugia in 1488 in order to accommodate his thousands of listeners, preaching in these particular locations could resonate with and amplify the message of the sermon.[42] The church could manifest political importance and be linked to the governing authority, as the Medici were with San Lorenzo in Florence.[43] The cathedral of Ferrara in which Liuti's Lenten sermons took place was likewise linked to the ducal governing authority. Since Alberto d'Este had the *Bonifaciana* papal bull of 1391 carved into the cathedral, the Este had linked themselves to the institution.[44] Enhancing this link were the statues of Borso and his father Niccolò III which were raised opposite and facing the cathedral. Yet, the clearest purposeful staging of the sermons in a particular location are those of Coltellini, which were delivered not in the cathedral of San Pietro of Bologna, but in the politically-symbolic church of San Petronio. This church had been built with the intention of diminishing the importance of the cathedral and its links to papal claims of overlordship. Moreover, it was a symbol of both independence and unity, having no single faction as its primary

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[42] 'Cronaca della città di Perugia dal 1309 al 1491 nota col nome di Diario del Graziani', ed. Ariodante Fabretti, *Archivio storico italiano*, 16 (1850), pp. 71-750, at p. 601.

[43] See Howard, 'The Politics of Devotion'.

[44] Dean, *Land and Power*, p. 45. This bull granted the Ferrarese the right to dispense with their property in the city as they pleased – before then much of the land in Ferrara had directly belonged to the Church, and seizure was not unknown. The relief acted as a constant reminder to the Ferrarese of the privilege the Este had won for them.

patron, but rather possessing a chapel for the *Sedici Riformatori*, it bears clear links both to the governing authority to whom the sermons were delivered, and to the message of unity which Coltellini sought to promote.[45]

2. Delivering the Sermon: Style and Method

2.1. Methods of Delivery - Admonition versus Consolation:

Bernardino da Siena's sermons, while full of personal recountings and asides to the audience, have nevertheless been noted for their admonitory style, delivered from a position distinct from and superior to the audience.[46] The forceful, haranguing style appears a hallmark of the notable observant preachers, but it is not necessarily indicative of all preaching in this period. For instance, as has been seen, when comparing Sienese sermons, Paton at times identified a more moderate tone coming from the local preachers which differed from Bernardino da Siena's manner of delivery.[47] Even so, Paton also observed that these sermons still differed from the tone of the friars' penitential literature, which Paton termed conciliatory.[48] That is, they maintained a noticeably reproachful tone, if perhaps less fiery than those of the itinerant observants. The same cannot be said, however, of Coltellini's sermons, which appear to fit the tag of 'conciliatory' far more than might be considered usual in comparison to past interpretations of sermon tone.

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[45] Antonio Ivan Pini, *Città, Chiesa e Culti Civici in Bologna Medievale* (Bologna: 1999), pp. 226-227, 281, 285; Dondarini, *Bologna medievale*, pp. 94-95; Ady, *The Bentivoglio*, p. 6.

[46] Paton, *Preaching Friars*, p. 54; Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, pp. 191-199, illustrates how Bernardino da Siena's tone changed from encouragement in the first four days of his Lenten peace cycle in Siena in 1427 to a much harsher, admonitory tone for the remaining forty-odd sermons.

[47] Paton, *Preaching Friars*, pp. 300-301.

[48] ibid., p. 63.

Coltellini noticeably addressed his audience with deference, as the frequent repetitions of 'most excellent citizens', and 'illustrious citizens', make clear. Though here, also, the preacher attempted to advise and inform his audience, the tone of these sermons is as of a master speaking to his peers, rather than to students. Even in Coltellini's central section within the 1417 sermon, which dealt exclusively with factional conflict – conflict invariably caused by the sermon's attendant parties – there is no visible castigation of previous or present conduct. The *distinctio* instead took the form of a series of warnings with regards to the potential instigating factors of conflict of which the audience was to be aware. That is to say, sinful acts which would lead to a destabilisation of the civic unity were externalised, rather than being found within the audience, though they could nevertheless infect the audience should they not properly arm themselves against it. Moreover, the final third of the sermon switched the focus back onto the similarities of the virtuous ancient Romans to the present audience, and the power which was within them to effect positive change. At certain instances, the preacher even lauded his listeners, as, for instance, when he compared the founders of the Roman state to his own audience.[49] Indeed, there are only two instances of apparent admonishment or direct warning within Coltellini's sermons. Both are found within the preacher's sermon of 1416, the first when he reminded the audience that they had, 'formerly lost the state's freedom through [their] strong discords', but even here the implication which runs through the remainder of the sermon indicates that such behaviour had now changed.[50] The second occurs toward the end of the sermon, when the preacher lists the punishments which should await those who intentionally disturbed the peace. However, this warning immediately followed Coltellini's instruction that each individual should know his own place and

[49] Ricc. 784, f. 160r.

[50] ibid., f. 157v.

be obedient to the will of the ruling authority, and therefore takes on the appearance of being directed at all social classes within Bologna, and not solely the elite.

As such, these were sermons of appeasement rather than admonition. Though the Franciscan warned of the many things which would result with an end to peace – the corrupt seizing power, morality overthrown, and an end to the city itself – these errors were never laid at the feet of his audience of governors. Instead, the 'most illustrious citizens' were held up as their own examples to follow. In this, Coltellini was helped by the epideictic style – whose purpose was not directly to teach the audience a lesson, but to emphasise the positive or negative effects of something or someone - exhibited in some instances within the sermons.[51] The difference between Coltellini's sermons on the one hand and, for instance, Mattei's sermon on the other, is what was being asked of the audience. The latter exhorted his audience to accept the wisdom of Venetian rule, with the implication that they had not done so as yet. This insinuation that the audience had not yet met the preacher's expectations is accepted as standard in most mendicant sermons. Coltellini, however, discovered the virtues he endorsed already present within his audience, and advised them to *continue* along the paths of peace and unity, whilst also warning them of the forms which assaults to the present circumstances would take. In terms of tone and rhetorical strategy, Coltellini's sermons bear closest resemblance not to the other sermons presented here, but rather to Liuti's *Trattato del modo di ben governare*. In the *Trattato*, the ideal is already found within the recipient of the message, Borso d'Este, and the work seeks only to encourage the *signore* to continue and develop along this path. Liuti's sermon on the state, by contrast, made no such qualifications when addressing its audience.

[51] Ederer, *Humanism, Scholasticism*, p. 38.

Similarly, Mattei's St Mark sermon treads much more familiar rhetorical ground. This sermon was in all respects a lesson, one which served to explain the superiority of the Venetians both politically and spiritually, with the example of St Mark sometimes serving as an additional teacher. The Udinese are at once directed to learn and copy from the ancient example set by the relationship between their respective patron saints – as Udine's Hermagoras was found and then directed by Venice's Mark, so should the Udinese citizenry accept Venetian guidance.[52] Mattei vigorously instructed his audience in where they could find true nobility, in virtues such as respect and humility, and admonished his audience for thinking it could be gained from lineage alone whilst ignoring the necessity of other virtues.[53] The lengthy listing of the virtues to be found within Venice stands in stark contrast to the Dominican's silence on the matter in Udine. In other words, an example superior to the audience (not equal, as with the citizens of the Roman republic and Coltellini's audience), was held up for his listeners to follow.

It can be argued that these contrasting styles reflect differences in circumstance. While the context being responded to may have been a factor, it is the preachers' own contrasting relationships with their audience and those who placed them in office which appear to have been the main influences on tone. Mattei spoke from a position of power, with the backing of a Venetian government which was not the intended object of his reproaches (indeed, it was compared favourably). The spotlight of the friar's reprimands and instructions on proper behaviour did not focus on the governing authority which had ultimately approved and backed his appointment. Coltellini, however, directed his sermon at some of the same elements which had decided upon his selection in the first place and were part of the ruling elite (just as

[52] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 355. See Chapter 2, pp. 112-113.

[53] Mattei, 'Sermones', pp. 367-368.

Liuti's *Trattato*, which evinces a similar tone of address, was directed at the ruler of Ferrara). Nevertheless, a conciliatory tone should not be equated with the aim to merely flatter the audience. It would have been detrimental to the objective of Coltellini's sermons to find the audience lacking the necessary skills or virtues, for the reason that the sermon was designed to lend support to the ruling authority and to cement their achievements, rather than to criticise them. Compared to the sermons of Mattei and Liuti, Coltellini's consolatory sermons appear the odd ones out. Yet, as is discussed below, Coltellini's style and structure actually owes more to the conventional forms of preaching and sermons than, arguably, those of his two Dominican counterparts.

2.2. Common themes:

The sermons examined here evince several parallels in content, if not in manner of exposition, both with each other and with the sermons of other *Quattrocento* preachers. The most critical common thread running through the sermons is the underlying emphasis on the expected relationship between rulers and the ruled – good order from the former, achievable due to the loyal obedience of the latter. Reproduction of the correct relationship would yield to the city and its inhabitants greater social and spiritual value. Above all, it is the use of the idea of the common good within the sermons of all three preachers which manifests itself as the most discernible exposition of the expected relationship and its attendant benefits. Indeed, the emphasis on moral and spiritual improvement and the reward after death provided by working for the *bene commune* was extolled by other contemporary preachers in a

variety of sermons.[54] Likewise, Coltellini drew attention to the benefits all would experience if efforts were made to maintain peace and unity, Mattei promoted Venetian governance as being to the common good of all who came under its wing, and Liuti began and ended his sermon on the state with exhortations to his audience to work for its common good, thus binding the entire topic within this central premise. The idea of the common good seems inextricably bound with the preservation of a strong governing authority.

As with the tone of delivery, it is Coltellini's sermons which stand out in the manner of the friar's interpretation of the common good. The propagation of the idea of the common good in the sermons of the Dominicans can be explained in part by Thomas Aquinas' promotion of it as a tool for the attainment of virtue and salvation, but the friar who most clearly exhorted the population towards the common good was the Franciscan Coltellini.[55] As mentioned previously, however, the preacher's interpretation of the common good was as a common usefulness providing active material advantage to each inhabitant and, above all, the security of temporal peace, rather than the moral and spiritual improvement more regularly associated with preaching the virtue of the common good.[56] This difference in interpretation may be put down to a lack of Thomist influence in Coltellini's sermons, but it also betrays a certain pragmatism and a direct relevance to the immediate context of the sermons. It could suggest that, though exhortation toward the common good was a familiar theme

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[54] For instance, see Bernardino da Siena, 'Prediche volgari', II, pp. 1254-1255; I, pp. 304-305. Paton, *Preaching Friars*, p. 91, states that the idea of the common good, 'underlies all the assumptions mendicant writers make about life in the commune and the best uses to be made of its institutions.'

[55] Edward F. Walter & Bruce S. Bubacz, 'The Common Good in Thomas Aquinas' Politics', *The Medieval Tradition of Natural Law*, ed. Harold J. Johnson (Kalamazoo, MC: 1987), pp. 201-211.

[56] See Chapter 1, pp. 66-67.

in Quattrocento sermons, it was not necessarily solely general advice, but could be refashioned to respond to and better reflect specific situations.

Another theme, related to the topic of the common good, is that of factional strife and internal conflict. This is most evident, once again, in the sermons of Coltellini, but the issue also reared its head in the sermons of Mattei and Liuti. Their approaches appear typical for the period, in that no specific parties or individuals are named, and discussion of the issue is kept abstract.[57] For both Coltellini and Liuti, the primary focus was on warning against the evils of slander and malicious gossip, another common feature in sermons.[58] For instance, one of Liuti's Lenten sermons in Ferrara was dedicated to the topic of slander, as indeed was one of Mattei's in his Lenten *de legibus* cycle.[59] Indeed, the frequency of this topic suggests that preachers considered insults and defamatory remarks one of the principal causes of factional strife within the fifteenth-century city (the resulting violence being an effect rather than the cause), and thus sought to clamp down on the source. Indeed, in a society where notions of honour and good character were preeminent, the preachers' fears appear well-founded.[60]

Once again nuances of interpretation can be detected among the preachers, which too suggest that a common theme was nevertheless consciously fitted to create greater relevance to the location and occasion. Liuti's Palm Sunday sermon does not focus on

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[57] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 81.

[58] Ricc. 784, f. 159v; Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, p. 153-159, describes Bernardino da Siena's own concerns with the issue; Paton, *Preaching Friars*, p. 151.

[59] Liuti, 'Sermones', pp. 405-412; Leonardo Mattei, 'Sermones quadragesimales de legibus' (Ülm: 1478), the 35th sermon, for the Wednesday after Passion Sunday. There is also a sermon on suspicion (28th sermon, for the Wednesday after fourth Sunday of Lent).

[60] Paul McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham, NC: 2007), esp. chapter 3. See also Dean, *Crime and Justice*, pp. 113-123.

factional struggle to the same extent or in the same vein as had Coltellini, but it does dwell upon the subject of false flattery – effectively the other side of the coin to the malicious gossip which Coltellini warns against, particularly in his sermon of 1417.[61] As had Coltellini, Liuti warned of the dangers inherent in internal division, and exhorted his listeners to look to classical examples of the benefits of unity.[62] The difference in approach could be ascribed to the different contexts or the differing audiences addressed. In Ferrara, the dangers of selfish ingratiation were put to an audience which was probably composed at least in part by civic authorities, but not necessarily by the highest levels of rule (that is, the duke). In Bologna, on the other hand, the ruinous nature of slander was explained to the ruling elite itself, which found no need to ingratiate itself further. Instead, its composition from historically fercely-competing factions made the idea of slander much more evocative. Despite these differences, it is also interesting to note, however, that both Coltellini and Liuti employed a version of the scriptural quotation, 'every kingdom divided against itself falls into ruin.'[63] The endorsement of this belief was central to the sermons in support of the governing authority, whether in times of crisis or stability, and neatly encapsulated messages of unity and fidelity using the force of sacral authority.

Another interesting aspect which comes up in both the sermons of Mattei and Liuti is their focus and attitude to laws, and, specifically, the creation and preservation of laws. Sermons on other subjects appear to have more often emphasised the subordination of all – including the ruling authority – to the laws, and the equal rights

[61] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 444. See Chapter 3, pp. 174.

[62] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 444.

[63] Either Matthew 12:25 or Luke 11:17. Ricc. 784, f. 157v; Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 444.

of all in front of the law.[64] It is not so much that the preachers within this study contradict this summation, but it is curiously absent from their discussions of laws. Both Dominicans stated that the secular authority held the right, to enact, enforce, and amend laws. This appears an obvious point, but in the context of upholding support for the secular authority it gains added significance. These approaches contrast with the pronouncements made in sermons which were not concerned directly with support for the governing authority. These commonly maintained that laws – not only natural ones but temporal laws also – should exist outside of the authority of rulers, who might succumb to the temptation, through moral weakness, to manipulate the laws to their own ends.[65] Mattei and Liuti, facing the need to speak in support of the governing authority, stressed instead the secular authority's potential and real ability to produce good laws, and by doing so empowered and legitimised the governing body's legislative actions.

In Mattei's St Mark sermon, the power of the secular authority in this field is hinted at when the preacher describes Venice's record of enacting and maintaining good laws – to which all there adhere.[66] Within Liuti's sermon on the state, the issue is dealt with in some detail, the ruling authority charged with the responsibility of enacting good and proper laws, and it is the first factor for good government which the preacher elucidates.[67] In much the same way as Coltellini had empowered his own audience by disclosing that the maintenance of peace and unity lay with their particular actions, so too did Liuti give power to his audience through informing them

[64] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 74, 76.

[65] Paton, *Preaching Friars*, p. 134.

[66] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 377.

[67] Liuti, 'Sermones', pp. 441-443.

of their ability to preserve the laws. In this manner, the audience were themselves embraced and led into the sphere of active support for the ruling body and its plans.

The overarching subject of the ideal state and the duties of its rulers also turns up in the sermons of other preachers, the most commonly noted of which are those by Bernardino da Siena. In these sermons, the state would be described in wholly Christian terms – that is, in the manner of a body ruled by the head of Christ.[68] Conversely, Coltellini and Liuti relied solely on the definitions afforded by classical authorities such as Cicero, and appeared to see little need to elaborate upon these definitions to their audiences. Establishing whether this was engendered by the type of audience or the intention of the sermons to support the secular governing authority, or both, calls for further exploration of the disparity.[69]

Coltellini's and Liuti's use of republican Rome as their only example of an ideal state stands in stark contrast to the contemporary example of Venice provided by Mattei. This could be explained as recourse to the idealised historical example which arose in the fourteenth century of a Roman republic whose citizens demonstrated a self-sacrificial love for their *patria*.[70] Coltellini's depiction of ancient Rome closely matches the model of Rome given by earlier writers such as the Dominicans Remigio de' Girolami and Tolomeo Fiadoni.[71] The use of an ancient example could equally have been motivated by the political delicacy of comparing one existing state to

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[68] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, pp. 64-65.

[69] The realiance on classical material is explored further below, pp. 219-223.

[70] Charles Davis, 'The Middle Ages', *The Legacy of Rome: A New Appraisal*, ed. Richard Jenkyns (Oxford: 1992), pp. 61-96, pp. 91-92.

[71] Teresa Rupp, 'Damnation, Individual, and Community in Remigio dei Girolami's *De bono communi*', *History of Political Thought*, 21 (2000), pp. 217-36; James M. Blythe, *The Worldview and Thought of Tolomeo Fiadoni (Ptolemy of Lucca)* (Turnhout: 2009), pp. 179-205.

another, and the reaction of the audience to such comparison. Debby, for instance, has noted the Florentines' displeasure at their state being compared in unfavourable terms to Venice by Bernardino da Siena.[72] Moreover, in sermons designed with the intention of either highlighting the strengths of the current regime, or furthering a particular cause of that authority, it does not seem conducive then to weaken that stance by highlighting the virtues of another contemporary, often rival, example. However, the long associations Coltellini and Liuti had with the cities in which they preached should also be taken into account, as it may have led to a greater sense of pride and a corresponding reluctance to view them in a negative comparative light to rival towns (and thus suggests another reason for their selection). Such pride might be evidenced in, for instance, Coltellini's inclusion of himself with his fellow Bolognese in his oration to Sigismund, or in Liuti's belief that rule by one made for the ideal state (in contrast to his fellow Dominican Mattei's ultimate promotion of a Venetian-style system of government). Mattei's approach, unlike that of Coltellini or Liuti, was designed to shame the audience into accepting the particular contemporary rule he espoused. Coltellini, on the other hand, sought only to draw favourable comparison, whilst Liuti had perhaps the most delicate task of providing an example to follow but not in such a manner as to suggest the inadequacy of the current rule.

A final feature, rather than theme, which all the sermons interestingly share is their heavy emphasis on the elucidation of virtues over the castigation of vices. While, indeed, both approaches were involved and the sermons of Mattei and Liuti at least maintained an admonitory tone (in the sense, for example, that they found the need to give examples which their listeners were yet, on the whole, either to accept or to

[72] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 68.

emulate), criticism of incorrect behaviour and thought was notably kept generalised and never aimed at any specific section of the audience – though in all likelihood the preacher also did not find need to go into specifics, as the audience would have been capable of inferring for themselves if the preacher had meant an individual or group in particular. The Easter Sunday sermons of Coltellini identified virtues with the attendant audience, whilst Liuti focussed on elucidating the necessary virtues which the good state required. Though the Dominican does describe improper behaviour such as false flattery, such points are put across as warnings rather than a castigation of the audience, and moreover are greatly outnumbered by lengthy descriptions of the value and benefits of the necessary virtues. This de-emphasis on castigation is not so evident with Mattei – perhaps because the audience he addressed was not so select – it must be noted that the elucidation of the virtues of the Venetian state is even more detailed and explicit than any identification with virtues which either Coltellini or Liuti attempted. However, it must be stressed that these sermons were not the same as laudatory speeches. The preachers continued to instruct – Liuti in how to govern, Coltellini in how to keep the peace – but these sermons in support of the governing authority appear to have employed persuasive techniques which notably differentiated themselves from sermons on other topics.

2.3. Sources:

According to Delcorno, Dominicans tended to rely more on *auctoritates* and *rationes* in order to provide the proof of the sermon lesson, whilst Franciscans preferred to use *exempla*.[73] However, this does not appear to apply to Coltellini,

[73] Delcorno, 'Preaching in Medieval Italy', p. 474.

whose use of *exempla* within his sermons was extremely limited, especially when in comparison to the frequency of the use of authorities to support his statements. It is possible that Delcorno's assessment is more applicable to the Observant branch of Franciscan preachers, especially those who followed in the wake of Bernardino da Siena and were influenced by his own notably anecdotal style of preaching.[74] This in itself argues for a greater study to be made of contemporary Conventual Franciscan sermons in order to test for possible differences and their consequences to the landscape of Quattrocento preaching.

The Dominicans Mattei and Liuti also placed far more emphasis on the use of authorities than they did on *exempla* or even *rationes.* In their cases, their 'regular' preaching style may be masked by their extended usage of the works of Henry of Rimini and John of Wales, respectively. At first glance, Mattei appears to demonstrate a greater ease of switching between *auctoritates*, *rationes*, and *exempla*. For instance, his *distinctio* on Venetian governance relies considerably upon providing proof through *rationes* over other methods. The proof of the superiority of Venetian governance is brought out by the preacher through his reasoning that it has engendered a society almost without crime, who follow the laws, which are fair and of both material and spiritual benefit to all. However, this style is not indicative of Mattei's usual method (as can be discerned from his other sermons and, indeed, the other *distinctiones* within the St Mark sermon), which does tend overall to rely much more heavily upon the use of *auctoritates*. But the transposition of Henry of Rimini's text into the *distinctio* on Venetian governance appears to make Mattei's use of logical reasoning much more central. Thus, this reliance on *rationes* is, in this instance, perhaps more indicative of fourteenth-century tastes.

[74] Delcorno's source sample for this statement is uncertain. However, the statement is made within a section dealing with the Franciscan Observant movement.

The authority of scripture was, naturally, cited by the preachers throughout their sermons. It does not, however, form the most frequently-used body of authority, which is made up instead of classical sources. Even in the instance of the scriptural quotation, 'every kingdom divided against itself falls into ruin,' both Coltellini and Liuti use a classical authority, Sallust, to repeat the same point (the former after the scriptural quotation, the latter before).[75] The actual impact of scripture was felt most in the *thema*, which originated from scripture in each case, and therefore provided both the foundation of the sermon, and, in some cases, such as Coltellini's sermon of 1417, its keystone.

Regarding the use of ecclesiastical authorities, Paton identified the extensive use of Augustine in Sienese sermons of the late fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries touching upon political topics and issues of the well-ordered, peaceful community. She suggests that preachers may have been more drawn to Augustine's writings than those of, say, Aquinas, because of their generally more negative outlook on man, which they found reflected in the relative instability of their time. Once Siena had become more politically stable and problems of faction and vendetta had lessened, from the middle of the fifteenth century, reliance on Augustine became less prevalent among preachers in Siena.[76] This outline appears to be corroborated by the examples of all three preachers in this study, for whom the most heavily-used ecclesiastical authority was Augustine – though noticeably more regularly by Coltellini and Mattei than their later counterpart Liuti.[77] Paton's conclusion may help to explain the (comparative) lack of reliance on Augustine exhibited within Liuti's

[75] Ricc. 784, f. 157v; Liuti, 'Sermons', p. 444 – *nam concordia parve res crescunt, discordia maxime dilabuntur*, *ait Salustius…* (Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum*, X).

[76] Paton, *Preaching Friars*, p. 95-99.

[77] Other ecclesiastical authorities were employed infrequently, and included Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, and Bernard of Clairvaux.

sermons and his works in general. Ferrara, though it was no stranger to violence, was blessed with political stability and a relative lack of factional struggle.[78] Moreover, it was a hub of Thomist thought in Quattrocento Italy.[79] Augustine was here replaced by the more positive ideals exhibited by Aquinas, to whom Liuti demonstrably felt a clear connection. However, Liuti also relied heavily upon classical authorities and, indeed, Augustine, for his sermon for Palm Sunday. The sermons of Coltellini, Mattei, and also Liuti, suggest that sermons which promoted the status or policies of the current regime relied upon the authority of Augustine and classical authors even when these authorities were either yet to ascend into popular use in sermons (as with classical works in Coltellini's time), or were perhaps on the wane (as with Augustine in Liuti's) in terms of their perceived applicability to sermon messages in general.

The citation and identification of medieval authorities, ecclesiastical or otherwise, in *Quattrocento* sermons appears to have been, on the whole, more haphazard than the use of scriptural authority or the works the Church Fathers.[80] Likewise, although the preachers examined here resorted to the works of medieval writers in constructing their arguments, these, barring Aquinas in Liuti's sermon, went almost entirely unidentified by the preachers. That is, they were not employed as authorities whose authorship legitimised the preacher's argument, but rather were converted from written material into a preached act, in much the same way as Liuti reworked sections of his own *Trattato del modo di ben governare*, in addition to the *Communiloquium*, within his sermon for Palm Sunday.

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[78] Dean, *Land and Power*, p. 21.

[79] Cenacchi, *Tomismo e Neotomismo*, pp. 12, 21.

[80] For instance, Bernardino da Siena never acknowledged one of the biggest influences on his sermons, Peter John Olivi (Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p.160).

One notable source employed in this unidentified manner by both Coltellini and Liuti was John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. Liuti utilised the thematic whole of this work, repeating its promotion of the service of all to one ruler – assisted by wise counsellors – as the ideal form of governing. Coltellini, on the other hand, made recourse to a specific subject from the *Policraticus* during his remarks on the dangers of malicious gossip within the sermon of 1417.[81] Coltellini's other surviving work, his sermon to the Emperor Sigismund, is also heavily reliant on the *Policraticus*.[82] This work may have remained unidentified because they themselves came across the work within a preaching aid or other collections which did not identify it.[83] It could also be argued that, as the work did not fit into the standard ecclesiastical, scriptural, or classical bodies of authorities, but was rather a medieval work of political theory, it was not accorded the same status of identification – in other words, the name was not considered likely to hold the same weight of recognition or authority for the audience. Even so, the failure by Coltellini (and, to a large extent, Mattei also) to identify *any* ecclesiastical authorities dating from a period later than the early Church Fathers is quite unusual compared to what is generally known of normal scholastic methods.[84]

Rather, it is the heavy, and, indeed, overwhelming use of classical authorities which is most prominent and most commonly identified within the sermons of all three

[81] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 445; Ricc. 784, f. 159v.

[82] Ricc. 784, ff. 236r-237v. Incipit: *Ad dominum Gismundum Romanorum Imperatorem per oratorem communitatis Bononie congratulando eius adsumptionem ad Imperialem celsitudinem*. Approximately 65% of the content of this sermon, which deals with the responsibilities of the emperor, is taken directly, unidentified, from the *Policraticus*.

[83] Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition* (Cambridge: 1994), pp. 82, 88 notes that the *Policraticus* was widely distributed as a collection of *exempla*.

[84] Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, MS: 1995), p. 12.

preachers. The works of Cicero were the most favoured, though others such as Seneca, Valerius Maximus, and Juvenal also received mentions. It has been asserted that classical citation in sermons developed and expanded from the second half of the fifteenth century.[85] Further, Delcorno has stated that long chains of classical citation only really began to appear in sermons after the death of Bernardino da Siena, from the second half of the fifteenth century, but the example of Coltellini demonstrates that this was not entirely the case.[86] The Franciscan preacher displayed an almost-exclusive use of classical authorities in his surviving sermons. This also includes the use of Augustine, more often than not solely the sections of *De civitate dei* which were themselves quoting or paraphrasing the works of Cicero. Above all, Coltellini drew from Cicero, and especially the Roman statesman's *De officiis* (either directly or through Augustine), which he identified several times within his sermons as the work to which he was specifically referring.[87] It may be that the extensive study of the sermons of Dominici, Bernardino da Siena, and other great observant itinerant preachers, which display little, if any, overt use of classical authorities and styles, has obscured their use by other less notable preachers of the earlier fifteenth century.

Peter Stacey has recently put forward the works of Seneca, in particular *De clementia*, as a major formative influence on Renaissance political thought, over that of Cicero's *De officiis*.[88] Stacey does not, however, consider sermons in his discussion of its development in the early Renaissance. Mattei made fairly extensive use of Seneca's *Epistulae Morales* when speaking of government by the people and mob

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[85] See Delcorno, 'Preaching in Medieval Italy', p. 481.

[86] ibid., p. 481.

[87] For example, Ricc. 784, f. 159v. For the most part, Coltellini would identify the author, but not the particular work being employed. The exceptions to this were Cicero's *De officiis*, as mentioned, and Augustine's *De civitate dei*.

[88] Stacey, *Roman Monarchy*, p. 5.

rule, but in general Seneca was not employed to the same significant extent as Cicero by the preacher.[89] Liuti did employ another work of Seneca's, *De Beneficiis*, in his own exhortation towards unity and absence of internal struggles within the city.[90] However, none of the three preachers examined here illustrate convincing evidence of Seneca's works underpinning their political thought, which instead appears to owe a greater debt to Cicero's *De officiis* and, for Coltellini at least, John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. In this regard, it is interesting to note that Liuti's *Trattato* did employ Seneca's *De clementia* (albeit only once, though significantly it is when he writes concerning justice) but this work did not make the transition into the friar's sermons.[91] Overall, the political thought transmitted through the sermons examined here, which cover differing contexts across a forty-year period, does not appear to support Stacey's argument for the more extensive reliance on the works of Seneca over Cicero in fifteenth-century political thought, and moreover it should be noted that. Nevertheless, it would be of interest to ascertain whether the rarity in the use of Seneca was a phenomenon common to the politically-framed sermon output of a larger range of Quattrocento preachers, and if so, whether it could be determined if this was as a result of the sources they commonly had access to, or if it was a deliberate choice signifying the greater appeal of the writings of Cicero.

The reliance on classical sources exhibited by all three preachers stands in stark contrast to some of the better-known and more celebrated preachers of fifteenth-century Italy. It is possible that this practice was to some extent influenced by the composition of the audience. As Howard, amongst others, has pointed out, 'the

[89] Mattei, 'Sermones', p. 376.

[90] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 443.

[91] idem, 'Trattato', p. 61.

medium was often part of the message.'[92] Classical themes and examples, just like their biblical counterparts, were used as a cultural code which the audience could interpret and understand. The benefit of Christian virtues was proven through recourse to classical authorities, such as Coltellini's endorsement of moral vigour through the words of Cato.[93] Although teaching of the classics was still widely restricted in universities in this period to a philosophical training for theologians and physicians – employed as teaching aids rather than being taught in their own right – nevertheless, an audience such as Coltellini's would have gained great exposure to the classics at lower levels of education.[94] The rise of communal schools in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy did much to promote the cultural and educational programmes of the humanists. As Paul Grendler stated, 'the humanistic educators substituted the letters and orations of Cicero for the medieval *auctores* in their schools…'[95] The elite members which made up Coltellini's audience (probably also Liuti's and possibly Mattei's, at least to some extent) would have welcomed the repeated use of authorities which their ability to identify and appreciate demonstrated their high social status. Moreover, it was the classics which were employed in schools

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[92] Peter Howard, 'Sermons Reflecting Upon Their World(s): A Response to Stephen Morris, Wim Verbaal, Eve Salisbury, and Emily Michelson', *Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*, eds. Georgiana Donavin, Cary J. Nederman, & Richard Utz (Turnhout: 2004), pp. 181-194, p. 184.

[93] Ricc. 784, f. 158v.

[94] Aldo Scaglione, 'The Classics in Medieval Education', *The Classics in the Middle Ages*, eds. Aldo S. Bernardo & Saul Levin (Binghamton, NY: 1990), pp. 343-360, pp. 357-358, 360.

[95] Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore, ML, 1989), p. 122; See also Peter Denley, 'Governments and Schools in Late Medieval Italy', *City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Essays Presented to Philip Jones*, eds. Trevor Dean & Chris Wickham (London: 1990), pp. 93-107, p. 107. Denley, p. 102, also noted the increasing rarity of private tutoring as prestigious communal schools rose up.

to educate the ruling class in lessons of civic morality.[96] It may be, then, that despite the arguments of Peter Stacey, the political circles within which sermons in support of the governing authority may have most frequently – or perhaps most usefully – been delivered, responded positively to the message inherent in the Roman statesman's writings that active service to the community yielded rewards to the giver. *De officiis*, especially, had been transformed into a kind of guide to political and public life for fifteenth-century statesmen.[97] This may, in turn, provide an explanation for the extensive use of Cicero and this work in particular by all three preachers in their sermons in support of the governing authority.

2.4. Exempla:

Much scholarly attention has been given to the role of *exempla* in sermons. In particular, with regards to what they can reveal about social and cultural practices and intellectual attitudes, and their power to influence memory and leave enduring impressions on the audience.[98] Yet, what is normally considered the regular form of

[96] Scaglione, 'The Classics in Medieval Education', p. 356 notes the evidence of merchants aspiring to an education in the classics in order to advance on the social ladder. Also Grendler, *Schooling*, pp. 133, 409-410, notes the role of the classics in education for the ruling classes. Although the *studia humanitatis* only became thoroughly established from around the 1430s, its enthusiastic promotion and employment stretches back to the late fourteenth century, Grendler, *Schooling*, pp. 117-118.

[97] Hans Baron, 'Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 22, 1 (April, 1938), esp. pp. 22-28.

[98] See especially, Carlo Delcorno, 'L'"Exemplum" nella predicazione di Bernardino da Siena', *Bernardino predicatore nella società del suo tempo* (Todi: 1976), pp. 71-107; Claude Bremond, Jacques Le Goff & Jean-Claude Scmitt, *L'Exemplum* (Turnhout: 1982); Carlo Delcorno, 'Pour une histoire de l'*exemplum* en Italie', *Les Exempla médiévaux. Nouvelles perspectives*, eds. Jacques Berlioz & Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: 1998), pp. 147-176; Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: 1998); Lina Bolzoni, *The Web*

exempla found in sermons – tales of scriptural or folkloristic origin involving miracles which demonstrate the proof of the preacher's words – seem curiously almost entirely absent as a tactic for persuasion within these sermons in support of the governing authority. Similarly, these sermons do not demonstrate anywhere the use of the personal tale, a practice made famous by Bernardino da Siena and his Observant successors, whereby the preacher would recount a story from personal experience.[99] Indeed, Delcorno noted a general rise in the use of 'worldly' *exempla* in the fifteenth century, with the personal and more contemporary tales increasingly preferred over even those found in scripture – but these 'worldly' examples do not seem to have found their way into the sermons examined here, except perhaps in the form of classical history.[100]

Consequently, although it is indisputable that the most common *exempla* contained within sermons in general are concerned with biblical figures (these have even been categorised as 'sermon *exempla*'), the most notable uses of an *exemplum* within the sermons discussed here is of different origin – the classical world.[101] This seems unusual when compared even with sermons from other parts of Europe which concerned themselves with state affairs – such as the sermons preached by the kings of Aragon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries at the opening of the *cortes*, and

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of Images: Vernacular Preaching from Its Origins to Saint Bernardino da Siena, trans. Carole Preston & Lisa Chien (Aldershot: 2003).

[99] Paton, *Preaching Friars*, p. 82; Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 48; Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, p. 31.

[100] Delcorno, 'L'"Exemplum"', pp. 106-107

[101] Peter Howard, 'The Preacher and the Holy in Renaissance Florence' *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Louvain-la-Neuve: 1996), pp. 355-370, at p. 360; Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power*, p. 57.

which were filled with scriptural *exempla* intended to emphasise divine authority.[102] It could be argued that it was a general personal preference of these preachers not to employ *exempla*. However, a survey of Mattei's other feast-day sermons reveals that, in the case of this preacher at least, occasional personal recounting was utilised, as in the sermon for the feast-day of St Martin, where Mattei describes his own experiences with strict fasting while in Germany.[103] The same preacher does also make frequent use of *exempla* from the life of St Mark – though *not*, save for one short exception, in the lengthy *divisio* concerning Venetian governance. And even this *exemplum* is further supported by additional resort to classical authority, rather than standing on its own as sole proof.[104]

The presence of the classical *exemplum* as a method of instruction and persuasion within these sermons in support of the governing authority further adds to the sense of classicising predilection already encountered in the use of particular sources. Indeed, it may be a natural consequence of the abundance of classical works being employed. The Ferrarese Liuti, for instance, gave several examples centred around the ideal of the Roman republic, such as the award of honours in order to inspire others rather than celebrate those so awarded, or telling of two bitter rivals within the Roman republic who set their differences aside upon both attaining the consulship, in order to disclose the merits of peaceful unity.[105] Other classical *exempla* proved popular with more than one preacher. For instance, the description of Cato's delivery of a speech to the Roman senate on the virtues and morals of the ancient Romans being the

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[102] Suzanne F. Cawsey, 'Royal Eloquence, Royal Propaganda and the Use of the Sermon in the Medieval Crown of Aragon, c.1200-1410', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 50, 3 (July, 1999), pp. 442-463, at p. 442.

[103] Mattei, 'Sermones de sanctis', p. 88.

[104] ibid., p. 368.

[105] Liuti, 'Sermones', pp. 446, 444.

foundations of their success was deemed so integral by the preacher to the situation in Bologna in 1416-17 that he quoted it in both his Easter Sunday sermons.[106] This same *exemplum* was then later employed by Liuti within his sermon on the state when the preacher wished to prove the necessity of moral integrity in ensuring the success of a state.[107]

Both Coltellini and Liuti also used *exempla* drawn from ancient Greek history, via Cicero, the former employing the story of the oracle foretelling that Sparta would not fall from any other cause than avarice, whilst the latter demonstrated the superiority of good counsel over military endeavour by weighing up the deeds of the statesman Solon and the general Themistocles.[108] Liuti's combination of biblical and classical *exempla* here should be noted, as he also utilised the loss of the kingdom of Israel by Rehoboam as an example of the danger of ignoring wise counsel.[109] Liuti thus sought to persuade on the importance of safeguarding of the state through good counsellors by means of contrasting *exempla*, which nevertheless demonstrated the same point – one illustrating the benefits of heeding wise counsel, the other the dangers of discounting; one classical, 'worldly' proof, the other scriptural and divine proof.

Thus, *exempla* were not entirely missing from these sermons. But the traditional form of sermon *exempla* was, on the whole, replaced by classical *exempla*. It is possible that the lack of sermon *exempla* was due to the intention of the sermon and the audience to which it was preached. The decision to use classical *exempla* could

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[106] Ricc. 784, ff. 158v, 159v. See Chapter 1, pp. 64-65, 83.

[107] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 445. See Chapter 3, pp. 175-176.

[108] Ricc. 784, f. 160r – *Pithius oraculum edidit Spartam nulla alia causa nisi avaricia perituram*; Liuti, 'Sermones' p. 445 – *Ideo Tullius de officii capitulo 22 dicit parva sunt foris arma nisi consilium sit domi unde ibi recitat quae consilium Salonis plus profuit civitati Atheniensium quia ab illo leges fuerunt institute quasi victoria Themistodis quia bellum gestum fuit consilio senatorum qui a Solone fuerant constituti…*

[109] Liuti, 'Sermons', p. 445 - *unde Roboan qui antiquorum nolvit consilium regnum perdidit* (1 Kings 12:8).

have been based upon their political, rather than ecclesiological, nature – and the sermons in support of the governing authority had a political concern by their very nature. As such, these *exempla* may have been more effective at addressing issues of secular authority.[110] Folkloristic tales and the personal experiences of a friar, on the other hand, may not have been considered appropriate to issues of governance. The use of classical *exempla*, like the reliance of classical sources as a whole, is a common theme and appears a conscious decision to aid in the sermons' relevance, suitability, and effectiveness, rather than solely following a particular trend.

2.5. The influence of humanist thought and classical oratory:

Humanists and mendicant preachers – especially those of the observant branches – have left evidence of their ideological opposition. The turn-of-the-century preacher Giovanni Dominici attacked humanists and the *studia humanitatis* for deceiving the gullible public with false words, whilst Savonarola's criticism of humanist thought and those who, 'enslaved their own intellects in the prison of antiquity', at the end of the *Quattrocento* has received much scholarly attention.[111] Humanists such as Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), for their part, accused mendicant preachers of very much the

[110] Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power*, p. 81.

[111] Lorenza Tromboni, 'Girolamo Savonarola lettore di Platone: edizione e commento del *De doctrina Platonicorum*, *Rinascimento*, 46 (2006), pp. 133-213; Peter Godman, *From Poliziano to Machiavelli: Florentine Humanism in the High Renaissance*, (Princeton: 1998), p. 31; Armando Verde, *Lo studio fiorentino 1473-1503*, vol. 4 (*La vite universitaria*), 3 vols. (Florence: 1985), pp. 1309-1318; D. P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (London: 1972), pp. 47-51; But see also the very interesting discussion in Amos Edelheit, *Ficino, Pico and Savonarola: The Evolution of Humanist Theology 1461/2-1498* (Leiden: 2008), pp. 388-399 which highlights the adaptive, practical nature of Savonarola's rhetoric, and asks whether one could consider him as really being on one side or another of the debate.

same thing with regards to the deception of the public.[112] Much of the criticism aimed by the two sides at each other had to do with disparity of style. The scholastic thematic sermon structure was accused of being too often prey to the uncultured preacher who delivered tedious and largely disjointed sermons.[113] Savonarola's rhetoric was depicted as crude by humanists such as Domenico Benvieni.[114] The Dominican friar, for his part, accused humanist orators of an obsession with convoluted speechifying which taught the public nothing and only celebrated, 'Aristotle and Plato and a thousand nonsenses.'[115] The two sides have thus formed part of the larger debate between scholastic and humanist thought. The misrepresentation of sources through the disregard of provenance or context is, for instance, a criticism that was often thrown by humanists at scholastics in general, as well as preachers.[116] This opposition has been characterised in several recent books and articles. Howard pictured the humanist and preacher, as 'co-opted to the service of competing policies and political interests' in fifteenth-century Florence, employed for similar reasons but with their divergent ideologies naturally placing them on opposing sides, rather than both being appointed by one political interest with the same intention.[117] Debby has also categorised the preacher and the humanist orator as

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[112] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 205.

[113] John D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (London: 1983), pp. 144-168; Hannah Gray, 'Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 24, 4 (1963), pp. 497-514, at pp. 503-506; Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources* (New York, NY: 1979), pp. 19-20; idem., 'The Scholar and His Public', *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning*, ed. Edward P. Mahoney (New York, NY: 1992) pp. 3-28, at 16-17.

[114] Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 34.

[115] Savonarola, *Prediche sopra i Salmi*, I, ed. V. Romano (Rome: 1969), pp. 255-256.

[116] Charles G. Nauert, 'Humanism as Method: Roots of Conflict with the Scholastics', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22, 2 (Summer, 1998), p. 431.

[117] Howard, 'The Politics of Devotion', p. 32.

in constant competition with one another for the attentions of the public.[118] Erika Rummel has similarly argued that there existed a profound cultural war between scholastics and humanists.[119]

And yet, this competition and criticism actually reveals a close connection between the two. Oratory, whether sacred or secular, was common to both the humanist and scholastic traditions. Preacher and humanist could also move in the same mix of cultural circles. Moreover, it is clear that not all preachers shared an antagonistic view towards use of classical works and techniques, or found themselves in opposition to humanists. The sermons and experiences of Coltellini and Mattei shed more light on the relationship between scholastic, mendicant, and humanist thought, and throw into doubt the suggestion that, for example, this was always a debate centred around opposing views, in which the *studia humanitatis* proved the final victor.[120] Instead, they appear to support more the view of older scholarship, led by Kristeller and advanced by historians such as Lewis Spitz, James Overfield, and Charles Nauert, which downplayed the idea of incompatibility between the scholastic and humanist movements, and argued that it was limited to intellectual exercises and personal feuds.[121] The sermons of Coltellini and Mattei suggest that a relationship could exist, outside of the exclusive intellectual sphere of the papal court, between traditional forms of sermon giving and the growing influence of humanism and classical oratory.

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[118] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 72.

[119] Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, MS: 1995); And more recently, though largely concerning a later period, Erika Rummel, *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (Leiden: 2008).

[120] For instance, see Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 125.

[121] Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York, NY: 1961); James Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany* (Princeton, NJ: 1984); Nauert, 'Humanism as Method', argued that there was a difference in the relationship north and south of the Alps. In Italy, where scholasticism was an import and had less of a cultural hold, the chances for conflict were lessened.

There is previous evidence for this, such as in the figure of the Florentine Augustinian preacher Mariano da Gennazzano, but this covers only the very end of the fifteenth century.[122]

Finding influences of classical oratory earlier might be characterised as both surprising and expected. Techniques of classical oratory were actually described in preaching manuals until around the middle of the fourteenth century, after which they disappeared from works of this genre.[123] Around the same time, criticism of overly complex preaching declined, only to be replaced by criticism of over-simplification.[124] Preaching which was perceived to follow a more 'classicising' style could earn praise from humanists – as did, for instance, Mariano da Genazzano from Angelo Poliziano whilst the former was preaching in Florence.[125] Whilst all three preachers examined here used classical authorities, only Coltellini can be said to have followed this classicising style. The laudatory nature of particular sections of the Franciscan's sermons evince a similarity to epideictic oration, a style which lent itself to the praise of virtues (as well as condemnation of vices).[126] This appears to have been recognised by unknown compilers of the later fifteenth century, who preserved the two Easter Sunday sermons by including them in a manuscript of orations. It is

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[122] David Gutierrez, 'Testi e note su Mariano da Genazzano', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 32 (1969), pp. 117-204. Mariano is now best known as the preacher whose style was celebrated by contemporaries opposed to the methods of Savonarola. See Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 34, 41-42.

[123] Margaret Jennings, 'Medieval Thematic Preaching: A Ciceronian Second Coming', *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, eds. Virginia Cox & John O. Ward, (Leiden: 2006), pp. 313-334, p. 324.

[124] ibid., p. 326. Criticism did not derive solely from humanists. For instance, Jean Gerson labelled most preachers as, 'insufficient rhetoricians' (Harry Caplan, *Of Eloquence: Studies in Ancient and Medieval Rhetoric*, eds. A. King & H. North, (Ithaca, NY: 1970), p. 132).

[125] Howard, 'The Preacher and the Holy', p. 356.

[126] Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas,* pp. 9-10. See also Chapter 1, pp. 65.

also demonstrable to an even greater degree in the friar's sermon to Sigismund, where the preacher lauded the greatness of the newly-crowned emperor.

This is not to say, however, that the other preachers did not employ some techniques rooted in classical sources, only that it was not as overt as Coltellini. For instance, a sermon delivered by Mattei at the consecration of a new church in Udine appears to employ the classical technique of *artificiosa memoria* – increasingly popular due to the ascription to Cicero of the treatise within which it was found, *Ad Herenium* – using the technique to create vivid visual images linking the stones used in the construction of the church and the faith of his audience.[127] Moreover, Mattei's celebration of Venetian governance was conducted more through the example of experience and history, rather than proven through theology or resort to religious *exempla*. It should be remembered, though, that Mattei's model of Venice as an ideal form of government originates from the fourteenth-century scholastic world of Henry of Rimini's original treatise, though it was only toward the end of the fourteenth/beginning of the fifteenth century that it began to gain popular currency along with more general interest in republican forms of government extolled by the humanists.[128] As such, therefore, Mattei's sermon illustrates the merger of the thought of the two intellectual spheres, and the untroubled incorporation of ideas from both.

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[127] Santa Casciani, 'Sacred Oratory and Audience: Preaching in Medieval Italy', *Word, Image, Number: Communication in the Middle Ages*, eds. John J. Contreni & Santa Casciani (Florence: 2002), pp. 247-262, p. 253. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory,* pp. 72-73. *Artificiosa memoria* was an oratorical technique employed to link everyday images or objects in the minds of the audience to the themes being explored. For instance, Mattei's link of his themes, in his sermon for the consecration of the church of San Pietro Martire, with references to the stones out of which the church was built and which surrounded him and his audience – Mattei, 'Sermones de sanctis', pp. 865-868.

[128] Ederer, *Humanism, Scholasticism*, p. 215.

The example provided by Leonardo Mattei also illustrates that humanist orators and mendicant preachers did not necessarily find themselves vouching for competing interests, as Howard has suggested. Mattei gave his abilities over to advancing the ideal of Venetian government at a time contemporaneous to the appointment of the humanist Domenico de' Domenichi (1416-1478), who delivered orations in Venice in 1449 on the excellence of the Venetians, their city, and government in terms very similar to those of Mattei.[129] A comparable example of mendicant and lay orators working in association with governing authority in promoting similar aims can be found in the actions of Bologna's *Sedici Riformatori*. As well as appointing Coltellini to give sermons which supported their governance and actions, a lay orator, believed to be either Bornio da Sala or Guarino da Verona (both notable humanists), was appointed in 1418 to deliver an oration to Pope Martin V, emphasising the Bolognese wish to remain independent of papal rule.[130] Although this oration was never delivered, due to the cancellation of the pope's visit to Bologna, it again shows the intention to employ both lay and religious orators in support of the secular authority.[131]

In terms of a possible humanist influence on these sermons, it has been argued that the Franciscan order was in general more accepting and adaptable to the rise of the humanist movement, whilst the Dominicans, who had exerted significant control over

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[129] Ederer, *Humanism, Scholasticism*, p. 42.

[130] Wouter Bracke, 'Le orazioni al pontefice', *Alle Origini della Nuova Roma Martino V (1417-1431),* eds. Maria Chiabò, Giusi D'Alessandro, Paola Piacentini, & Concetta Ranieri (Rome: 1992), pp. 125-142, p. 134.

[131] The decision to use religious orators over their lay counterparts is discussed in more detail below, esp. pp. 246-248.

the older systems of teaching, were more reactionary.[132] Delcorno has noted that exhortations toward the defence of and loyalty to the commune – the *patria* – appear to have been ever-increasing features of mendicant sermons as the fifteenth century wore on, and both the Franciscan Coltellini and the Dominican Liuti espoused these aspects.[133] Moreover, the former's sermon of 1417 concludes with an exhortation towards the maintenance of justice, 'for the increase of one's honour and fame', virtues typically associated with humanist thought.[134] Coltellini's civic style of preaching demonstrates a reaction – and not a negative one – and adaptation to the increasing influence in public life of humanist thought and classical rhetoric. And in contrast to the criticism of the use of Plato later displayed by Savonarola, Coltellini employed Plato's precepts with no sense of misgiving within his sermon of 1417.[135] It is also interesting to note that while Liuti's final extant work, the *Declaratorio*, makes an anti-Platonic remark which appears in its similarity to foreshadow Savonarola's later comments, he actually cites both Aristotle and Plato at length within his *Trattato*, suggesting that either the preacher altered his view over time, or that he found their works had merit in an appropriate context.[136] However, Liuti did also explicitly reject the virtue of notions such as glory and fame within both the *Trattato* and his sermon for Palm Sunday.[137] Indeed, even though the subject of the ideal prince was a favoured topic of humanist writers, Liuti's treatise may also belong to the earlier

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[132] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 123

[133] Carlo Delcorno, 'La città nella predicazione francescana del Quattrocento', *La presenza francescana tra Medioevo e Modernità*, eds. Mario Chessa e Marco Poli (Florence: 1996) pp. 53-70, pp. 53-54.

[134] Ricc. 784, f. 160r.

[135] ibid., f. 159v.

[136] Liuti, 'Declaratorio', f. 2r. For Savonarola's criticism of Plato, see Girolamo Savonarola, *Prediche sopra i Salmi*, ed. Vincenzo Romano, 2 vols. (Rome: 1969-74) I, pp. 255-256; Liuti employs both Aristotle and Plato when extolling the virtues of wisdom, for example. Liuti, 'Trattato', p. 65.

[137] Liuti, 'Trattato', p. 72; idem., 'Sermones', p. 437.

medieval ecclesiastical tradition of writing on political thought, such as John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* and, of course, Aquinas' *De regno*.[138] What at first appears an inspiration of the contemporary humanist fixation with princely writing might in fact also owe a debt to older scholastic and ecclesiological roots, which could equally be pinpointed as the foundations for Liuti's Palm Sunday sermon.

Coltellini may also have honed his style from several different sources and experiences. First, through his previous engagements in the delivery of funerary orations, an occasion which had seen a dramatic overhaul in style in the first few years of the fifteenth century. Beginning with the orations in 1402 of Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370-1445), funerary orations moved away from theological lessons with little reference to the individual being honoured, to the more classical, epideictic eulogy form which relied upon history and the individual's deeds for its content, and which proved highly popular.[139] But the Franciscan may also have discovered these classicising models through the Church Fathers, such as Augustine. These works saw a revival in their use in preaching in the first half of the fifteenth century, as is made evident in Coltellini's sermons.[140] Ultimately, of the three preachers considered here, Coltellini was both the most radical, in terms of style and use of particular authorities and *exempla*, and the most conservative, in terms of the overall scholastic structure

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[138] See Stacey, *Roman Monarchy*, pp. 75-115.

[139] John M. McManamon, *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism*, (London: 1989), pp. 8-11. But note d'Avray, *Death and the Prince,* p. 79, who points out that levels of 'individuality' could vary from sermon to sermon. As d'Avray states, 'it is clear that preachers were able to capture and represent individual personality, or aspects of it…On the other hand, those that do so leave out a lot that one might expect…and other sermons seem to show no interest in individuality.' (pp. 113-114). The evocation of an individual's trait in these earlier sermons was often used as a tool for instructing the audience.

[140] John W. O'Malley, 'Introduction: Medieval Preaching', *De Ore Domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages*, , Thomas L. Amos, Eugene A. Green, & Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Kalamazoo, MI: 1989), pp. 1-11, p. 11.

which provided a familiar backbone to the more novel content. His lack of precision about the context and original objectives of his sources display a typically scholastic manner. The preacher did not employ the style of orations normally given in the *Quattrocento* in front of the papal curia or the highest political authorities, though his sermons do evince notable similarities. Coltellini's preaching – at least in the case of the two Easter Sunday sermons – absorbed into the traditional thematic sermon structure classicising oratorical forms then being revived by the humanists, without being overwhelmed by them.

Thus, neither Coltellini nor Mattei show reluctance to mould more traditional scholastic ideas with those provided by the *studia humanitatis*. The suspicion that the newer movement could be employed to challenge the mendicant tradition or even the authority of the Church is not apparent within their sermons, as it was within those of Bernardino da Siena, for instance.[141] Coltellini's embrace of these methods and techniques provides a contrast to the vociferous criticism of Giovanni Dominici of only a few years earlier. However, while Coltellini and Liuti appear to (broadly) conform to the picture of Franciscan acceptance and Dominican resistance to the humanist movement, Mattei does not. The Dominican's integration of humanist and scholastic methods, his willing and knowledgeable use of classical sources over ecclesiastical ones, and his personal relations with humanists such as Domenico de' Domenichi (their familiarity is attested by another work of Mattei's, the *Tractatus de cambiis*, written in 1453), all testify to his willing adaptability to the newer methods and ideas, whilst simultaneously retaining many aspects of his more traditional scholastic training.[142] While the humanists largely rejected scholastic methodologies

[141] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 104.

[142] Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VII E 21, ff. 220r-223v, f. 223v – *Quicquid potui ego frater Leonardus de Utino ordinis predicatorum inter doctores theologie minimus colligere in hac*

and objectives, mendicant preachers such as Coltellini and Mattei appear to have adapted to some of the newer influences without abandoning the older traditions, resulting in an integration of techniques from both modes of thought. Indeed, Domenichi's own experiences with both Dominican and humanist training and subsequent writings illustrate the degree of crossover possible.[143]

The division in opinion, then, might also be ascribed to the differing viewpoints and reactions of the Conventual and Observant branches to the humanist movement. Notably, however, Liuti was a member of the conventual branch of the Dominicans, yet like Dominici – an observant – before him, expressed his criticism of humanist ideals. Likewise, though the Observant Bernardino da Siena advocated the scholastic method, he accepted the existence of the *studia humanitatis*.[144] This suggests it was more than simply a case of reflecting the respective standpoints of the two branches. In order to claim this with any assurance, however, a wider range of examples would have to be assessed and incorporated.

The increasing influence of classic and civic oratory on preaching, whether as a by-product of the influence of humanist thought, or as part of a general trend away from modes of scholastic preaching, delivered to the *Quattrocento* preacher tools which were particularly specialised at engaging their urban audience. Their own backgrounds and themes in turn infused this particular mode of civic oratory with a spiritual character – itself inimitably suitable for a society in which the religious and secular spheres were inextricably bound.

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determinatione conscripsi… quas concessi Reverendo domino Dominico de Venetiis episcopo Torcellano, dum esset decanus in Civitate Austrie et in ecclesia maiori actu predicaret.

[143] See Ederer, *Humanism, Scholasticism*.

[144] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 125.

2.6. The religiosity of the sermon - did the religious occasion shape the sermon?:

There is an on-going debate within sermon studies as to the extent to which the liturgical calendar influenced the content of the sermon.[145] Could the audience know beforehand what the preacher would speak about solely based on the day of the year? It has also been suggested that even those who did not attend a particular sermon would be reminded of its occurrence and therefore its intended message by the ringing of bells to announce its start.[146]

The variation in days on which the preachers chose to speak in support of the governing authority – different Sundays, a saint's feast-day – suggests that the content of the sermon was more complex. Jussi Hanska has attempted an analysis of Sunday sermons in order to determine how closely they stuck to the day's ordinary religious subject matter. The results indicate only partial influence – whilst certain precepts and themes featured in the majority of sermons delivered on the same Sunday, the methods of deliberation upon these themes could vary to a great extent.[147] The interpretations of the initial *thema* and the liturgical reasons for the sermon could differ widely from preacher to preacher. The sermons examined here also indicate a partial influence. In some cases, such as Liuti's Lenten sermons, the original *thema* could even be wholly discarded, as the preacher introduced new elements into the sermon (though Liuti's style certainly appears to be a rarity). This, at first, might appear to put into question David d'Avray's assertion that sermons were a, 'drip-drip

[145] Hanska, 'Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching', pp. 295-296, 301-302, 310-311.

[146] Howard, 'Preaching and Liturgy', pp. 318-319; David d'Avray, 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', *Modern Questions About Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*, (Spoleto: 1994), pp. 3-29, at p. 4.

[147] Hanska, 'Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching', pp. 314-315.

method of inculcating belief,' for it suggests that sermons for the same day could vary widely in their main content for the same occasion, rather than repeating the same mantra.[148] However, the fact that each sermon discussed here *does* demonstrate its liturgical link to some extent illustrates that the religious teaching continued, no matter the seemingly secular main objective of the sermon.

In each case presented here, the sermon's *thema* was quite appropriate to the day on which the sermon was delivered. This is most apparent in Coltellini's Easter Sunday sermons, where both are taken from the context of the resurrection of Christ. But it also holds for Liuti's Palm Sunday sermon, for it begins with the exaltation of Christ, which was, of course, appropriate for celebrating Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem. It is even true, though perhaps in a more subtle way, for Mattei's somewhat obscure line taken from Ecclesiasticus with which he began his sermon for the feast-day of St Mark: Ecclesiasticus was commonly used for prayers on this particular feast-day. Thus, the sermons appear to begin on a typical liturgical footing.

Nevertheless, although all three preachers appear to have paid deference to the religious occasion, they essentially used it as a starting-point only before exhorting their audience to the proper course of action which would ensure the continued stability of the current regime – a topic which at times appears to have strayed wildly from the religious occasion of the sermon. Mattei's sermon for the feast-day of St Mark most clearly expounds upon the expected subject. St Mark is, indeed, central to the message of the sermon, and the audience was enlightened concerning the saint's activities and the proof of his holiness. But it is still startling to note how the elucidation of Mark's holiness was employed to act as proof of the superiority of Venice, his chosen city, rather than perhaps the other way round. The brevity of the

[148] d'Avray, 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', p. 9.

sections which concentrate on the saint mean they appear to act as book-ends – though necessary ones – to the exposition of Venetian governance. This tendency to deviate from the 'spirit' of the scriptural reading is quite clear in the sermons examined here which deal with upholding the governing authority, though it should be noted that even in the cases of Mattei and Liuti, the sections which specifically dealt with socio-political issues and governance did not comprise the entire sermon – though they did dominate them.

Contemporary context also had a clear effect on these sermons, perhaps more so than for sermons with most other intentions. In the first place, the sermons of Coltellini and Mattei were delivered in response to immediate, on-going situations, and were intended to address these. In the sermons of all three preachers, the advent of a scriptural event is used to speak about a present-day situation. This stands in interesting opposition to other sermons where it can be determined that a present event (such as plague, or something more personally intimate, such as the death of a particular inidividual) is used as the starting-point to elucidate on scriptural events. For instance, Gabriella Zarri has noted how the impending death of the abbess Chiara Bugni was used by her fellow nuns to deliver sermons on the more general themes of death and the resurrection of Christ.[149]

David d'Avray has suggested that the audience also participated in shaping the sermon through forming preconceptions which the preacher needed to meet in order to deliver a successful sermon.[150] It has been intimated previously in this chapter that indeed the make-up of the audience had a profound effect on the content and even

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[149] Gabriella Zarri, 'Places and Gestures of Women's Preaching in Quattro- and Cinquecento Italy', *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching 1200-1500*, eds. Katherine L. Jansen & Miri Rubin (Turnhout: 2010), pp. 177-193, p. 184.

[150] d'Avray, 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', pp. 7, 26.

style of the sermon in support of secular authority. In the first place, the content might be shaped by audience expectation – itself shaped by previous renditions of sermons on similar occasions.[151] Just as the audience might have been aware of the nature of the sermon they were about to hear based on the day in the liturgical calendar, so the preacher had some expectation of who his audience might be. It has, for instance, been argued convincingly by historians such as Polecritti that the majority of a preacher's audience would often be composed of women.[152] This knowledge may in turn have influenced a preacher such as Liuti to reserve two Sundays in Lent for the topics of luxury and dress – a fashionable subject for preachers to direct at a female audience.[153] Audience awareness may also partially explain the similarities between Coltellini's two sermons, while the differences appear influenced by recent events.

There seems little, if any, liturgical connection between Palm Sunday and the second half of Liuti's sermon, which dwelt on the foundations of a good state. This is, however, quite typical of Liuti's style in general, wherein each sermon was divided into separate lengthy discussion on two issues, with no attempt made by the preacher to connect one to the other.[154] It may be that he employed this system in order to be able to expound upon the topic which was expected of him on that particular day, and subsequently on another which was of particular interest or importance to him – or to the audience. Liuti's method encapsulates the flexibility in discussion available to

[151] An example of the dangers of not matching up to the expectations of the audience can be found within the chronicle of the 'Anonimo Romano', which describes the preacher Venturino da Bergamo (1304-1346) being effectively run out of town by the audience for demanding they hand over money to him which he would then distribute to worthy causes – 'Cronica di Anonimo Romano', ed. Giuseppe Porta (Milan: 1979), VI.

[152] Cynthia L. Polecritti, 'In the Shop of the Lord: Bernardino of Siena and Popular Devotion', *Beyond Florence: The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, eds. Paula Findlen, Michelle M. Fontaine, & Duane J. Osheim (Stanford, CA: 2003), pp. 147-159, pp. 152-153.

[153] Liuti, 'Sermones', pp. 114-129 , 213-229.

[154] See Chapter 3, pp. 160-161.

preachers when it came to marking a religious occasion, which was acknowledged – as no doubt it also would have been by processions and other events on that same day – but then harnessed to debate on topics which, on the surface, had little to do with the scriptural foundation. In other words, the themes may have been usual for the day (such as talking of peace on Easter Sunday), but the detail of the sermons can potentially reveal much about the factors – contemporary context and audience – which influenced its composition.

3. Processing the Sermon: Objectives:

3.1. Objectives of the secular authority:

In the examples investigated within this study, it is evident that the preachers referred to issues which had already been put into motion but were perceived to require a bolstering of support. That is to say, the preacher did not himself originally initiate the idea of, for example, a peacemaking, or the need for reform of the laws – or any other initiatives for which the preacher has at times been ascribed the role of both driving force and originator. The preacher's role was to provide both justification and support for certain actions, and through his sermons serve as a religious and moral foil. The objectives of the secular authority were thus presented not merely as good politics, but also as good moral action validated by a holy man. These objectives could be both broad-minded, such as an exhortation to continued peace, and highly particular to one issue, such as Lorenzo de' Medici's wish in 1484 that the governing council be convinced of the need for a secret ballot on the Pisan offices. As a result, he had the preacher Mariano da Genazzano preach to the *Signoria* on this very topic

in order to mollify and convince the would-be lobbyers of the wisdom of such an ordinance.[155]

Both the sermons of Mattei and Liuti can be linked to a larger and longer process of legitimisation. They belong in the same category as other oratorical, literary, and artistic works which served to celebrate and expand the 'myth of Venice' and the ideal of the Este *signoria*, respectively. Coltellini's sermons, on the other hand, appear to be inspired wholly by more short-term reasons, though they do draw on the long tradition of Bolognese independence and the overarching themes of peace and stability.

In appointing a local preacher, and, moreover, one they were familiar with, as with both Coltellini and Liuti, the civic authorities might be more confident of the preacher's message conforming to the 'party line'. The appointment of Coltellini, especially, appears a canny one. The Franciscan, who delivered sermons urging unity between Bologna's factions, also had proven links with family members of the two most powerful factions of the coalition, the Bentivoglio and the Canetoli.[156] In Ferrara, Liuti's presence at court and, moreover, his earlier work for Borso also connected him with the interests of the *signoria*. Mattei, too, had previous links with the Venetian government, in that he had been selected to preach for Lent in Venice some years previously.[157] In addition, all three preachers examined here lived public, active lives as well as private ones. Whether as a university teacher and orator, a celebrated and well-known preacher, or as a courtier, they bridged without seeming difficulty the gap between religious ascetic and public servant – holy men who

[155] Howard, 'The Politics of Devotion', p. 31.

[156] For instance, Coltellini had previously delivered a funerary oration for Bente Bentivoglio (Mattiolo, 'Cronaca bolognese', pp. 196-197), and was later a witness to the will of Gaspare Canetoli (ASB, San Francesco, 107/4239, n.15).

[157] See Chapter 2, p. 100.

inhabited the centre of society, rather than its margins. Indeed, their willingness to become involved in civic affairs, displayed both within their sermons and importantly in their other activities, may also have actually strengthened their appeal to the audience, by assuming what Polecritti has termed a, 'quasi-secular guise', which made it easier for the audience to relate to them.[158] Their status as Conventuals, too, may have assisted their relationship with the governing authority. Indeed, it is the members of the Observant branches who have traditionally been held up as examples of critics of religious playing official roles in civic affairs.[159] Moreover, the Conventuals had fewer compunctions than their Observant brothers about friars, such as Liuti, maintaining concrete links with the noble ruling elite if their family position provided them with opportunities to do so.[160] It can also be argued that, although the cultivated image of the Observant Franciscan preacher - a stricter, more ascetic, lifestyle and a more self-conscious imitation of the simplicity which St Francis espoused – coupled with the obvious popularity and fame of Observants like Bernardino da Siena and his successors, overshadows the achievements of non-Observant preachers, it did not preclude the potential popularity of non-Observant preachers of either Order.[161] As an example, the preaching of the Franciscan Roberto Caracciolo in support of his own Conventual brothers and against the Observants in Rome in 1453 was so effective that Observant friars in the city experienced

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[158] Polecritti, 'In the Shop of the Lord', p. 159.

[159] For example, Paton, *Preaching Friars*, p. 74, n. 92

[160] ibid., pp. 115-116.

[161] For the causes behind and the effects of the rise of the Franciscan Observant movement, see the detailed overviews of Mario Sensi, *Le osservanze francescane*, and Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Franciscan Order*.

difficulties procuring food from the community.[162] Another Conventual preacher, Angelo da Napoli, was offered 125 ducats by the commune of Brescia to try to convince him to continue preaching in the city.[163]

The importance of the effective and popular preacher to the secular authority and the repute of the city is aptly demonstrated by the Sienese commune's attempt to keep Bernardino da Siena within the city by having him appointed to the Sienese bishopric in 1427.[164] It would not be hard to imagine that the commune's attempt was motivated not only by Bernardino's fame and reputation, but also by his Sienese origin. Like any late medieval Italian city, Siena wished to promote and add to its repertoire of holy men who worked to enhance and demonstrate its sanctity.[165] As the cities became progressively more the focus of the holy (rather than the sacred being located outside the city walls), so concern shifted to maintaining and increasing the holy within the city.[166] Included within this was the need to recognise and retain local preachers who

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[162] Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, p. 482.

[163] Guido Lonati, 'La predicazione del B. Alberto da Sarteano a Brescia (1444-1449)', *Miscellanea Francescana*, 37 (1937), pp. 55-76, at p. 58.

[164] Bernardino refused the see. Paton, *Preaching Friars*, p. 75.

[165] Enrico Guidoni, *La città dal Medioevo al Rinascimento* (Rome: 1981), pp. 123-158; Robert L. Cooper, 'The Hermit Returns: Sanctity and the City in the March of Ancona', *Beyond Florence: The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, eds. Paula Findlen, Michelle M. Fontaine, & Duane J. Osheim (Stanford, CA: 2003), pp. 133-146, p. 133, 140.

[166] The subsuming of the sacred into buildings, relics, and individuals of civic significance in the towns of Italy has instigated much study: For instance, see Trexler, *Public Life*, pp. 47-73; Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, NJ: 1981); idem., 'The Virgin on the Street Corner: The Place of the Sacred in Italian Cities', *Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Steven Ozment (Kirksville, MO: 1989), pp. 25-40; For specific examples of this process, see Nicholas Terpstra, 'Confraternities and Local Cults: Civic Religion between Class and Politics in Renaissance Bologna', *Civic Ritual and Drama*, eds. Alexandra F. Johnston & Wim Husken (Amsterdam: 1997), pp. 143-174; Gary Dickson, 'The 115 Cults of the Saints in Later Medieval and Renaissance Perugia: A Demographic Overview', *Renaissance Studies* 12 (1998), pp. 6-25; Randi Klebanoff, 'Sacred Magnificence: Civic Intervention and the *arca* of San Domenico in Bologna', *Renaissance Studies*, 13, 4 (1999), pp. 412-429; Gualtiero Sigismondi, 'Pietro Crisci, eremita urbano, beato della chiesa di

came to be identified in some quarters as the city's expression of the holy man.[167] This is reflected in the approach of many contemporary or near-contemporary narrative sources to preaching, who tended to focus on and record miraculous acts or prophetic pronouncements which occurred during the preaching act, rather than the content of the sermons themselves.[168]

In practice, it seems that the governing authority's power to revoke its permission or commission for public sermons was rarely exercised, even when the preacher clearly overstepped the bounds of what was considered acceptable. Bernardino da Feltre's expulsion from Florence in 1488 is one of few known examples of a preacher's dismissal and expulsion by the secular authority, and this was only done after it was felt the preacher had purposely incited violent riots.[169] Giovanni Dominici, for instance, was expelled from Venice not for his preaching, but for conducting an unauthorised procession.[170] In 1419 in Bologna, the apocalyptic preacher Manfredi da Vercelli had his course of sermons in the cathedral of San Pietro halted, probably due to concerns over papal displeasure at his movement, but he was allowed instead to continue in San Domenico.[171] And Savonarola, even though he preached critically against the Medici in their own church of San Lorenzo – in addition to having been

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Foligno santo per la "religione civica", *Pietro Crisci: beato, confessore, compatrono di Foligno*, eds. Mario Sensi & Fortunato Frezza (Foligno: 2010), pp. 13-24.

[167] For instance, by Antonino Pierozzi, the archibishop of Florence – Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, p. 90.

[168] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 203; Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, p. 242 notes how, 'Bernardino's [da Siena's] complex self has condensed, or congealed, into a stereotypical image of the "saint"…His quiet fate shows us how vibrant personalities are transformed during the saint-making process and how even the greatest among them can fade as devotional patterns change over time.'

[169] de Roover, *San Bernardino of Siena and Sant'Antonino of Florence*, pp. 32-33; Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, pp. 102-103.

[170] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 17.

[171] Mattiolo, 'Cronaca bolognese', pp. 296-297.

selected by Lorenzo de' Medici in the first instance – was not halted in his activity. Instead, a rival preacher was appointed elsewhere in an attempt to draw the crowds away.[172] The ultimate power of the secular authority over the public preacher, then, was not normally emphasised. The nature of this relationship between authority and preacher (including the authority's control over the preacher) continued to remain a largely unspoken, unseen one. By doing so, it allowed the preacher to remain, symbolically, an independent and objective body, effectively distanced from the personal associations which existed in reality with the secular authority to whom he gave his voice. This image was further aided by the fact that though the preacher was appointed by a civic authority, his sermons were seen to be inspired by a higher *spiritual* authority. When preaching in support of the governing authority, the mendicant preacher himself represented himself as speaking the Word of God rather than that of the secular authority – a characteristic to which, by contrast, a lay orator could not lay claim. The preacher's self-promotion as a holy man and mediator between audience and Christ remained one of the key differences between the preacher and the lay orator when other distinctions between the two in both style and occasion for delivery grew increasingly blurred over the course of the fifteenth century. Similar to the ways in which governments in Italy sought legitimation of their rule through heavenly intercessors such as patron saints, the mendicant preacher became another link between governing and sacred authority, divining their ability and inspiration from the latter, and presented to the public by the former.

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[172] Howard, 'The Politics of Devotion', pp. 38-39; This attitude is comparable to that of the Islamic ruling authorities in fifteenth-century Egypt, who only very rarely exercised their prerogative to appoint or dismiss the *khatib*, the Friday political sermon preacher (Berkey, 'Audience and Authority in Medieval Islam', p.117).

Thus, the preacher imbued the civic authority, and their intentions, with a sacral quality.[173] This was of particularly immediate concern in the contexts of the preaching of Coltellini and Mattei. This was because the relationships between the secular and ecclesiastical centres of power in Bologna and Udine were characterised by open hostility rather than mutual aid or balance. The usurpation of papal rule in Bologna is the more obvious example, but the negative impact on its reputation of Venice's long legal fight over Friuli with the Patriarch of Aquileia – resident in Udine – and the general ineffectiveness of the Friulan Church, should not be underestimated.[174] In both instances, there was need for the secular authority to establish a centre of sacral power which it could either control or to which it could link itself.[175] For Bologna's governing authority, this was the intention behind the building of the church of San Petronio, where Coltellini preached, and where they came to participate in civic and religious rituals. The presence of the Franciscan – whose Order traditionally played a strong role in support of the papacy – assisted in engendering the image of the persistence of sacrality within Bologna. Years after Coltellini's sermons, the archbishop Niccolò Albergati (1373-1443) would also play a leading role in *Quattrocento* Bologna's reconciliation of civic and religious authorities.[176] In Ferrara, too, despite the legitimation gained for their rule from papal and imperial-bestowed titles, the Este actively promoted the links between their *signoria* and divine authority.

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[173] See Trexler's exploration of the efforts of Florence's governing body to imbue their actions with a sacral legitimacy and guidance from holy men at a time of change or crisis, Trexler, *Public Life*, p. 331-341, 348-361.

[174] Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, p. 37.

[175] Milner, 'Rhetorics of Transcendence', p. 243.

[176] Riccardo Parmeggiani, *Il vescovo e il capitolo: Il cardinale Niccolò Albergati e i canonici di S. Pietro di Bologna, 1417-1443. Un'inedita visita pastorale alla cattedrale, 1437* (Bologna: 2009)

The religious activity of Ferrara's lords has been well documented.[177] Thus, also in the case of Liuti, it could be argued that the preacher, through his sermon on the state, was employed in a process of association between divine authority and spiritual persona on the one hand, and the secular authority which sought to illustrate that it embodied the qualities which Liuti listed, on the other.

3.2. Mendicant objectives:

The example of Coltellini makes it apparent that it was not solely Dominicans who became involved in affairs of state, or possessed the capacity to preach in front of the governing authorities, as has been previously suggested in some instances. Moreover, the Franciscan's activities also resist the typecast separation of Franciscan and Dominican involvement with the lower and upper classes, respectively.[178] On the other hand, Paton and others have has commented on the equation of social ethics with moral theology which gave to the mendicant friars of any Order the authority and knowledge to speak on all aspects of civic life.[179] What might be termed as religious and as secular affairs became blurred and interwoven.[180] The easy integration of religious and spiritual concerns with civic and political interests is palpable within the sermons examined here – for instance, the idea of peace as a positive spiritual condition was aligned by Coltellini with the idea of peace as advantageous to the

[177] For instance, see Tuohy, *Herculean Ferrara*, pp. 165-172; Folin, *Rinascimento Estense*, pp. 250, 283-284.

[178] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 88; Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence*, pp. 94-95.

[179] Paton, *Preaching Friars*, p. 77-78. See also Marie-Dominique Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, trans. Lester K. Little (Chicago: 1968), pp. 240-246.

[180] James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, (London: Longman, 1995), p. 119.

inhabitants' success. For Liuti, simony was equated with both a sin necessitating religious intervention (excommunication) and a civic issue from which a few individuals prospered at the expense of the good of the city and its populace.[181] What is apparent from mendicant pastoral literature as well as sermons is the belief that all aspects of civic life – whether political, legal, social or economic – were held to be within the purview of the mendicant friar, who was able to exhort and instruct on the proper course of action on each matter in question.[182]

Paton summarised the desires of the late fifteenth-century preacher Salimbeni as, 'a commune in which the wise, through the inspiration of God, govern a highly-stratified and well-ordered society under divine protection to the end of the common good.'[183] Such a condition is unmistakably reflected in Coltellini's 1416 sermon, which the Franciscan chose to end with the description of the good city as 'well-ordered ruling and the obedient harmony of the citizens…the distribution of things equal and unequal, each to its own place.'[184] Ultimately, the wish for all activity, political or otherwise, to work towards the common good, seems a unifying factor in mendicant thought and across the majority of fifteenth-century Italian preaching, probably stimulated by the socio-political background of the Italian towns, in which feuds, vendetta, party strife, and competition over official posts were common and prevailing features of disunity.[185]

Furthermore, it could be argued that the actions of the preachers in this period also can be interpreted as a response to the secular authorities' own general intervention in roles traditionally reserved for the Church, such as the setting and control of morality

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[181] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 442.

[182] Paton, *Preaching Friars*, pp. 36-37.

[183] Cited in Paton, *Preaching Friars*, pp. 93-94.

[184] Ricc. 784, f. 158r.

[185] For instance, Paton, *Preaching Friars*, p. 133 recognised it amongst Sienese preachers.

through sumptuary legislation. Rather than resist this appropriation, preachers such as Liuti (who encouraged the secular authority to police morality through legislation), and many others, lent their support to and championed these activities, and, at the same time, ensured their own participation in their shaping.[186] Thus, concerns could coincide with the interests of the governing authority. The mutual interest of promoting issues of social justice between mendicant friars and the Este *signoria*, for instance, though not necessarily for the same purpose, nevertheless served to draw the two campaigns together.[187] The concern over justice in Liuti's Palm Sunday sermon also illustrates this.

A stable governing authority was necessary in order for many of these elements which the preachers espoused, such as justice, good laws, and the common good, to function effectively. This, in turn, required a well-ordered society obedient to the governing authority – the type of behaviour and outlook towards which the preacher, as a consequence, exhorted his audience. The main aims of the friars – lasting peace, manifestation of the heavenly city on earth, and ultimately, the salvation of the citizen body – required a conducive environment which included a central authority with extensive and effective powers of control over its populace.[188] The allegiance of the citizenry to the purposes of the governing authority was expected under the terms of good Christian moral conduct. In this regard, the preacher could be said, ultimately, to be attracted to the support of the institution of government, rather than a specific regime. The example of Coltellini's passionate support for papal power some years

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[186] Diane Owen Hughes, 'Sumptuary Law and Social Relations', pp. 79-80.

[187] Borso d'Este's most conspicuous concern in this regard was the projection of his image as an ideal ruler, whilst the preacher's purpose in raising issues of social justice may have been to stem frequent bouts of violence (Rosenberg, *The Este Monuments*, pp. 89-106).

[188] Paton, *Preaching Friars*, pp. 100-102.

after delivering sermons in support of the regime which had overthrown it may corroborate this conclusion.

Equally, the preachers did not fail to deliver advice as to how government should ideally function: Liuti gave detailed instruction on the focal areas to which governance should pay attention, whilst Coltellini gave specific instruction as to how and what sort of officials to appoint to oversee civic administration.[189] What makes these sections noteworthy is that they provide evidence of the two-way relationship between preacher and secular authority. Within these passages, the preacher exhibited that he was not solely a conduit of a message, but one who intentionally involved himself in, and was concerned with, the good and effective rule of the state. Thus, sermons delivered in support of the secular authority did not preclude the preacher's concern with the instruction of good and moral conduct. Such instruction, however, should not be equated with criticism of the current regime – as with all other aspects of their preaching, it was the preacher's duty continually to repeat and reinforce his message in order to ensure awareness of the issue remained constant. Although criticism or reprimands did occur, these were never overt, and were instead couched as general warnings on the dangers of bad government and immoral political behaviour, a reminder not to go astray, rather than any explicit denunciation of a present condition. This approach stands in contrast to the ways in which preachers might tackle the religious and social problems found within their audience – here, denunciation and castigation of present behaviour was plain, and preachers such as Bernardino da Siena would often point out a particular section of the audience who they deemed had fallen below acceptable standards.[190]

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[189] Liuti, 'Sermones', p. 445; Ricc. 784, f. 159v.

[190] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, pp. 37-38. The subject of factions is one notable exception to this approach.

Moreover, even sermons which did contain some criticism of governing institutions could be said to fit into a process of maintaining order within the city. Their existence gave a non-violent forum in which collective frustration could be vented publicly through the words of the preacher. The generalised nature of the vast majority of this criticism (due, perhaps at least in part, to the preacher's recognition that he owed his license to publicly preach to the self-same government) acknowledged the concerns of the audience but at the same time did not result in a figure of authority identifying specific targets around which criticism could be united and made stronger.

Indeed, a preacher's entire cycle of sermons was incorporated within this process. Thus, the larger context of the sermon cycle needs to be kept in mind. It was these other sermons which helped to establish and build the standing, popularity, and authority of the preacher (or not, if they were received badly). For both Coltellini and Liuti, their appointments as Lenten preachers were intended to serve as one of the focal points of the spiritual preparation of the populace for the most important event in the liturgical calendar. Their sermons would attempt to provide the citizen body, either directly in the attendant audience or through word-of-mouth, with daily lessons on how the populace should act in or react to a wide variety of religious, moral, and social issues. Most often held early in the morning before working hours, they were designed to be reflected upon throughout the day, and formed part of the ritual rhythm of the city for that part of the year.[191] In both cases, their sermons in support of the governing authority served culminating roles (the last sermon of Lent in Coltellini's case, and the last sermon before the beginning of Holy Week in Liuti's) – thus becoming the final and perhaps most crucial lessons on unity of purpose and right thinking.

[191] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*, p. 40.

3.3. The existence of personal objectives?:

There are instances where it becomes difficult to discern whether the insertion of a particular point stemmed from a general outlook as a mendicant, or whether it can be singled out as a point of especial concern for that particular friar. Some who preached, such as Jean Gerson (1363-1429), reserved specific issues which were of personal interest to them for separate sermons, rather than incorporating them into sermons with more general themes, but few contemporaries have left as much evidence of their personal concerns as Gerson.[192] Liuti's lengthy description and denunciation of various religious practices can be put down to a personal interest owing to the friar's subsequent long career as inquisitor, but his digressions within the sermon on the state and his *Trattato* on issues such as church property represent a grey area. Clearly, they affected the preacher enough to speak out. However, whether these issues rose out of personal concern, or an institutional concern as a friar, is difficult, if not now impossible, to discern. On the other hand, the broad willingness to lend support to the secular authority may have stemmed from other influences bearing on the preacher than those instilled through their outlook and position as mendicant friars.

Extant works other than the sermons in question might reveal something of a preacher's personal objectives, through comparison of common concerns. For instance, Mattei's *de legibus* Lenten cycle of sermons evinces the preacher's strong interest in instructing his audience in the response of all types of laws – from natural

[192] Mishtooni Bose, 'Can Orthodoxy be Charismatic? The Preaching of Jean Gerson', *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching 1200-1500*, eds. Katherine L. Jansen & Miri Rubin, (Turnhout: 2010), pp. 215-233, pp. 223-224,

and divine down to secular – to acts of vice and sin.[193] This, however, can only be said to correspond in the St Mark sermon to Mattei's exhortation of the wisdom and strength of Venetian laws and its citizens' capacity to abide by them, which in itself is only indicative of the general desire of mendicant thought that the populace be obedient to strong laws. However, Mattei is also extremely effusive about monarchical-style government. Indeed, the St Mark sermon contains somewhat of a contradiction in that Mattei names the rule of one the ideal form of government, before also proclaiming that a mixed, Venetian-style government is the most perfect.[194] This anomaly may be indicative of a difference between the friar's personal belief and what he felt was necessary, or was obligated, to preach.

For Liuti, the obvious interest lies in the teachings of Aquinas. As mentioned, this left a strong mark throughout all his works, though strangely far less so on his sermon for Palm Sunday (that is, at least, on the half of the sermon which spoke of the state). This perhaps indicates the putting aside of personal interests for this sermon, or, on the other hand, that perhaps he found no suitable material within the works of Aquinas. Considering that Aquinas wrote a treatise which dealt specifically with the issue of governance, and to which Liuti made recourse within his *Trattato*, the latter suggestion seems improbable. Liuti's sincere zeal in rooting out and correcting unorthodox religious practice required the cooperation, assistance of, and, ultimately, good relations with, the secular authority. As detailed within the previous chapter on Ferrara, both the appointment to the position of inquisitor-general and its successful undertaking were reliant on the good grace of the Este ruler. It is probable that the maintenance of good relations and the attention of the *signore* and his court assisted

[193] The introduction to this sermon collection explains its purpose (Mattei, 'Sermones de legibus', p. 1).

[194] See Chapter 2, p. 128.

Liuti in his successful rise to the position of inquisitor-general – just as his eventual dismissal owed much to a new favourite rising at the court of Ercole.

Through the assessment of factors involved in the preacher's selection and the intended objectives of both parties across different socio-political contexts, this comparative analysis has shed light on several aspects of the relationship between the preacher and the governing authority in the context of sermons delivered in support of the latter. The content and style of these sermons has been thoroughly dissected to reveal which methods the preacher believed would garner the desired results, and how these methods might differ from those employed in other types of sermons.

It is apparent that the days chosen for the giving of these sermons were deliberate choices intended to maximise the number of attendees and the impact of the sermon, both in thought and in symbolism, and thus underlines their significance. In the context of being but one part of a Lenten cycle, or delivered on the occasion of a saint's feast-day, the sermons fulfilled the criteria expected of them in acknowledging and observing these religious occasions. However, the liturgical calendar did not so much influence the content of these sermons as it was itself adapted into whatever shape best fitted their objectives with regard to supporting the governing authority. The selected venues too, such as the politically-charged locations of San Petronio and San Giorgio, were intended to provide a visual association to the words of the preacher.

The tone of delivery could vary so that it did not always evoke the more familiar admonitory style, and this appears to have been predicated on audience composition and the attendance of the ruling body at the sermons, in addition to the objectives of the sermons themselves – primarily to focus on extolling the virtues of the current

regime and expounding upon its benefits for the populace as a whole, leaving less room to harangue non-conformists. As such, these were positive sermons, careful not to show that they might have been considered as a response to previous criticism of the governing authority. Disapproval by other groups was only acknowledged indirectly, if at all, and was never recognised as a valid response.

It is also in evidence that these sermons were part of a larger and longer process of promoting and garnering support for the desired image and objectives of the governing authority – a process which could involve additional events on the same day, such as ritual processions, or on-going and contemporaneous acts in which the preacher was not involved, from legislative activity to public sculpture and architecture, and other written and oral works, designed to convey the same message. The value of the mendicant preachers for the governing authority lay in the divine source of their authority and in their image, strongly promoted, as holy men. Their backing perforce imbued regimes with divine legitimacy, which they seem to have been quite careful not to impinge upon or make appear biased by exerting their own authority over the preacher in an overt manner. Moreover, the preachers' local origins did not hinder them, but rather the opposite. In all likelihood, this helped to build a rapport and shared understanding between the governing authority and the preacher, in addition to potentially easing issues of communication and trust between preacher and audience. The preachers were outsiders in terms of the distinction between their religious profession and the lay nature of their audience only. Otherwise, their life-long involvement (in the cases of Coltellini and Liuti), not least through their preaching, made them a fixture of the city's public life.

The preachers were skilled at adapting their message and methods to the context, making full use of their scholastic training and education to mould their authorities

and *exempla* to a contemporary relevance, but also showing signs of their ability to employ methods which had more recently come to be held in high regard. Above all, it is the heavy reliance on classical authorities, perhaps stimulated by the elite, educated make-up of the audience and/or the burgeoning belief in the value and authority they held as works and authors in their own right, which immediately stands out in the analysis of the content of the sermons. Thus, this ready adaptation to context also translated to the preachers' own situations. As evidenced by Coltellini's willingness to lend his skills to the reinstated authority of the papacy, it was the stability of and obedience to the current authority which was the prime imperative of the preachers and a major motivation in their decision to deliver these sermons. Their answer was not to criticise and appeal for reform and upheaval of the status quo. The outcome of intervention by the governing authority and expulsion of the preachers appears so rare an event, however, even when such criticism was readily apparent, that it cannot be considered the main factor in the decision not to criticise. Instead, the answer may lie in the mutual benefit apparent in cooperative activity and in teaching the populace to adapt to the present situation. This is evinced in the espousal of working for the common good, a feature of the sermons of all three preachers. By shaping the mentality of the inhabitants to come to believe in the benefits of acting for the long-term good of the city over working towards individual benefit, it was hoped that a stability in which all could ultimately prosper (both materially and spiritually, as Coltellini advocated) could be achieved.

These preachers did not see a contradiction in involving themselves in civic affairs by providing a service for a temporal power and their vows as mendicant friars. Just as for the governing authority the sermons would normally form one part of a larger process, so too did they form for the preachers just one facet of the remit of their

appointment. As noted previously, the preaching of sermons remained, first and foremost, a religious event. Bernardino da Siena once described the sermon as a form of confession and conversion – necessary if one were to become deserving of receiving the sacrament.[195] Preaching should be considered, in one sense, then, as a form of mass confession, with the audience forming a communal soul needing to be given proper direction. This is aptly illustrated by Liuti's Lenten sermons, where the 'petitions of the little soul' can be equated with the audience's questionings. But sermons also often worked to maintain or legitimate the current order of a society, a function which is nowhere more evident than in the sermons preached with the specific intention of supporting the governing authority or forwarding its policies.[196] Though the motives may have differed, there was a correspondence in goals – stability, peace, good order. After all, it was a peaceful, obedient and united commune which fostered the right conditions for the salvation of souls.

[195] Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari*, I, p.149; Howard, 'Preaching and Liturgy', p.318.

[196] Dessi, 'Pratiche della parola di pace', p. 275.

CONCLUSION

The varying experiences of the three preachers examined here over a span of forty years and three locations have helped to shed more light on several aspects of preaching in fifteeenth-century Italy. The focus on a deep analysis of the sermons has elucidated both the ways in which support for contemporary regimes could be articulated during periods of crisis, transition, and stability, and also the factors which influenced the make-up of the sermons. It has expanded on the understanding of cooperative relationships between preacher and secular authority in terms of selection and motivation, and this interaction has been brought to the fore and identified as a feature of Quattrocento Italian towns across differing times and socio-political contexts. Whereas Pellegrini suggests that the political message may have been a by-product, these sermons indicated that (at least in these instances) the political message within the sermons was indeed intentional.[1] Moreover, they suggest that Debby's assertion that, 'more often…the preachers led opposition on political and cultural issues…' may require revision.[2] At the same time, this does not disagree with Dessì's assertion that it is *not* correct to say that preachers were in the service of the governing bodies (in the sense of propaganda mouthpieces). Indeed, the confluence of aims illustrated – if not quite the motivations behind them – suggests an uncontroversial partnership of mutual benefit in which the desires of the governing authority and the social and spiritual advice of mendicant thought could be integrated with each other.

A study of the sermons of Giovanni Coltellini in Bologna built upon familiar subject matter in sermon scholarship – the preaching of peace – and went further

[1] Pellegrini, 'Predicazione osservante e propaganda politica', pp. 512-513.

[2] Debby, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 210.

through identifying the relationship of the sermons to specific contemporary events (in contrast to Cosma's more general interpretation of the sermon of 1416), including the adaptation of the message of the 1417 sermon to the political developments in Bologna and the changing needs of the governing authority. The example of Leonardo Mattei in Udine subsequently threw up the intriguing scenario of a celebrated native preacher coming home to preach but delivering a sermon in support of an external power (Venice) which had controversially occupied his hometown. This event highlights the use by a foreign power of native and well-respected preachers who could communicate effectively with and appeal to their audience, in order to promote both the rule of the aforesaid power and the idea of a standardisation of local governance to match that of the central authority. The last of the case studies, Tommaso dai Liuti, demonstrated an entire career spent in involvement with the governing authority and how this could translate into sermon content. Liuti's sermon for Palm Sunday in 1460 exemplifies how even in times of relative stability there was a perceived, continuing need and function for sermons which promoted ideas of good governance and alignment with the ideological policies of the governing authority, and suggests that, whilst sermons preached in support of a current regime during times of crisis may be more readily identifiable, such sermons might also have been prevalent in more secure contexts.

A comparative analysis taking the context of delivery fully into account (in itself a little-used method in studies of preaching) of these cases has raised several key issues: first, that the crucial role which local preachers could play in the public life of their towns (due to the value of local knowledge which could manifest itself in language and personal relationships, for instance) has been neglected for the fifteenth century in favour of the more historically-prominent itinerant Observant preacher. Similarly, the

affiliations of all three preachers make it clear that Conventual friars continued to hold a significant position in the landscape of fifteenth-century Italian preaching, and could be relied upon by the governing authorities to deliver sermons of considerable import. This in itself suggests not only a belief in their efficacy by those authorities, but also a persistence in the popularity of their preaching alongside that of their Observant counterparts. The latter by no means held the monopoly on preaching suggested by Pellegrini.[3]

Second, comparison has revealed common features of these sermons in support of the governing authority which appear to transcend differences of time, place and context, most prominent of which is the heavy reliance on classical authorities over and above those of scriptural and ecclesiastical origin. They thus demonstrate the degree to which classical authorities may have fuelled public debate on governance from an ostensibly religious perspective. Perhaps even more interestingly, they also reveal (certainly with Coltellini and Mattei, and even, though to a lesser extent, with Liuti) an integration of scholastic and humanist methods and principles, rather than adding support to the idea of a conflict – or at least, incompatibility – between the two. Moreover, the ways in which the common themes displayed in this study – such as working for the common good, law, and justice – were adapted to and shaped by particular contemporary contexts suggests that caution should be exhibited when attempting to make generalisations on Quattrocento preaching through the topics which were frequently brought up by its practitioners.

In his studies of the relationship between preaching and governance, Peter Howard has referred to Florence as, 'a culture of hearing' – a state which highlights the important role that preachers played in the public promotion of beliefs and ideologies

[3] Pellegrini, 'Predicazione osservante e propaganda politica', p. 523.

to the population.[4] Even if this term cannot automatically be applied to other towns of fifteenth-century Italy, it is nevertheless clear that preaching was an intrinsic part of daily urban public life everywhere. The union of the secular and the sacred which was a feature of Quattrocento Italy extended to the natural integration in the sermons examined here of political subject matter within the religious framework of the sermon and its occasion. Crucially, this was done in a cooperative, rather than critical, spirit, which sought to emphasise the virtues of the current regime rather than castigating the faults of the present situation. Theology and classical thought were integrated into ideas and policies on governance and then, crucially, publicly articulated in this form, thus illustrating the key part these played in expressing in an easily-digestible manner the desires and intentions of the governing authority to the Quattrocento urban audience. These sermons were also but one, arguably customary, part of a larger process of solidifying support for the governing authorities and their policies.

There existed in Quattrocento Italy an intrinsic integration of the religious and secular spheres, and mendicant preachers may have, in this regard, played an indispensible role in contributing divine or sacral authority to the governing authorities. Whilst these governing bodies did, of course, participate in and lead public religious rituals, in Italy sermons – including ones in support of the current secular authority – were not harnessed in a popular fashion by any group outside of the friars. Some leaders, such as Cola di Rienzo in the previous century, did attempt to deliver such sermons directly, but were often ridiculed for their efforts.[5] Ronald Musto has suggested that Cola had attempted to do so because political oratory

[4] See Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, pp. 87-89.

[5] 'Cronica di Anonimo Romano', ed. Giuseppe Porta (Milan: 1979), XVIII, 11.203-11.

without a religious element did not have the same persuasive impact.[6] The role of mendicant preachers in the delivery of sermons in support of the governing authority may have been especially prevalent in the fifteenth century, before the idea of preaching being an activity accessible to all, lay or religious, became increasingly popular in the sixteenth century. Conversely, the 'quasi-secular' guise which involvement in various civic affairs (despite the protestations of Bernardino da Siena with which this study began) bestowed upon them also made possible a closer connection between the audience and themselves.[7] Once again, this evinces the blurred line between sacred and secular which these preachers could cross, and which made them such an attractive partner for the governing authority.

[6] Ronald G. Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome: Cola di Rienzo and the Politics of the New Age* (London: 2003), p. 104.

[7] Polecritti, 'In the Shop of the Lord', p. 159.

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